

May 1956

Volume XLV, No. 5

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

- **Entries Open for 1956
All-America Cities**
- **A Flood Prevention Plan**
- **The World's Great Cities**
- **Resurgence of Coventry**
- **Manager Adoptions
Pass 1400 Mark**

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

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News of the League

1956 All-America Contest Open

Opening of the 1956 All-America Cities contest was announced in April.

Nominations may be made by citizens, public officials or civic groups by letter to the National Municipal League before August 15, according to the announcement issued jointly by the League

and by *Look* magazine, co-sponsors of the awards.

If the city nominated is eligible, an official entry blank will be sent which must be filled out and returned by September 15.

September 15.

The awards are conferred each year on eleven communities on the basis of progress achieved through effective citizen action. Previous winners have based their entries on improved government, better schools, checking slum blight, industrial rehabilitation and other accomplishments.

A city need not be a "model community" to receive an award, the announcement pointed out. In the words of George H. Gallup, president of the League and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, who has served for some years as "foreman" of the All-America Cities jury:

"The awards are given for citizen teamwork rather than for municipal perfection. To be selected as an All-America City a community must show noteworthy accomplishments through alert, continuing citizen participation."

Nominations will be carefully weighed by a screening committee. Those selected for final consideration will be invited

to send spokesmen to address the jury at the League's National Conference on Government which will be held this year at the Peabody Hotel, Memphis, November 11-14.

Two Are Chosen as NML Officers

James C. Worthy, director of public relations of Sears, Roebuck & Company, has been chosen regional vice president to succeed John Nuveen, Chicago investment banker, who has been associated with the League for some years as

regional vice president and previously as a member of the Council.

Mr. Worthy, who has been with Sears, Roebuck & Company since 1938 in several capacities, served in Washington as

assistant secretary of commerce, 1953-55, and has been a member of various federal panels and committees. He is chairman of the board of the Library of International Relations, member of the boards of the Metropolitan Housing Council, Chicago, and of the National Civil Service League. He is former president of the Industrial Relations As-

sociation and member of the board of

(Continued on next page)



George H. Gallup



James C. Worthy



R. A. Trippeer

West Coast Man Selected as Fellow

K. T. W. Swanson, assistant professor of public administration at the State College of Washington, has been awarded the 1956-57 Staff Fellowship of the National Municipal League.

Under terms of the fellowship, Dr. Swanson will serve for one year as a member of the League staff. He is the fifth holder of the fellowship.



K. T. W. Swanson

A native of Ogden, Iowa, Dr. Swanson has taught courses in government at State College since 1951 after four years as teaching assistant and instructor at Syracuse University.

He has served also as a consultant to the Spokane County Planning Commission, as chairman of the Y.M.C.A. Youth in Government Program for eastern Washington and northern Idaho, and as a member of the subcommittee on regulatory and promotional agencies of the Washington "Little Hoover Commission."

Dr. Swanson received his B.A. and M.A. at the State University of Iowa and his Ph.D. at the Maxwell Graduate School of Public Administration, Syracuse University.

New Officers

(Continued from previous page)

the Industrial Relations Research Association, Chicago.

The League's executive committee also elected R. A. Trippeer, Memphis businessman and civic leader, to fill a vacancy in the Council. Mr. Trippeer is serving as chairman of local arrangements for the National Conference on

Government in Memphis November 11-14.

Mr. Trippeer, who is president of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, also is president of Euclid-Memphis Sales, Inc., and of several other companies. He is a director of the Civic Research Committee, Conference host, and a trustee of Ohio Wesleyan University, Memphis Public Library, Adult Education Center, Memphis Union Mission Board and the Y.M.C.A.

Grace R. Howe Dies

Miss Grace R. Howe, who was assistant secretary of the League from 1920 to 1929, died April 4 at her home at Wilson Point, Connecticut.

Prior to her service with the League while Dr. Harold W. Dodds was secretary, Miss Howe was with the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities until 1917 when she went with the American Red Cross until the end of World War I.

She was a charter member of the League of Women Voters.

Hello!

When in mid-April it became possible to dial calls directly from Riverside, California, to New York, Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML assistant director, readily agreed to receive a call from the president of the local Chamber of Commerce, as part of a ceremony inaugurating the new system.

After all, enterprising Riverside was one of the winners of the 1955 All-America Cities awards.

The catch was that Seed had to stay up until 1:30 a.m. Sunday, New York time, because the program in California was staged at 10:30 p.m.

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Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

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Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Pforsheimer Building, 47 East 60th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright 1956 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The Most Important Task

IN recent years laymen and educators alike have become increasingly aware of the desperate need for a larger conception of the meaning of citizenship and for a more effective program of civic education. Two crusaders who have been striving to provide an effective program of civic education are Dr. John J. Mahoney and Dr. Henry W. Holmes, co-directors of the recently established Civic Education Center at Tufts University, Massachusetts. These men have devoted their lifelong careers to the proposition that "the most important business of the American public school is to make good American citizens."

Dr. Holmes, formerly dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, recently spelled out the needs for such a program in the 1955 Inglis Lecture on Secondary Education at Harvard.¹

"What is needed most of all," he said:

"First, discussion of the meaning of democracy. I mean discussion, not the memorizing of definitions. I mean discussion in English classes, history classes, language classes, vocational classes, guidance conferences, assemblies, hygiene classes, the gymnasium, the laboratory (if there is one), the art room, music room and library. And of course in the

class in problems of democracy. Make way for such discussions!

"When I studied Virgil, no one told me the *Aeneid* was a poem in defense and celebration of the Roman Empire. I should not have learned less Latin if I had been led on to think of Rome in contrast to America. The tags of Latin I retained took on a civic meaning for me far too late — long after my first Harvard course in Latin, which was as innocent of civic reference as anything I learned in school.

"Is mathematics — 'mathematics for the masses' — devoid of opportunity to discuss democracy? What does our welfare program cost — and why maintain it? Perhaps the formulae that stump us all on Form 1040 are beyond all explanation, but some reference to income taxes would not be out of place in algebra. The organization I am working for at Tufts has a partially completed manuscript called *Mathematics for Civic Purposes*.

"And need I speak of opportunities in science — now, when the fate of freedom is so often hung on what the scientists discover and their willingness to tell us what it means? . . .

"Second, discussion of selected problems of democracy — 'key' problems, political, economic and social. Of course they must be problems which can be discussed in secondary schools. Let us admit that high-school teachers, even with their very brightest pupils, should hesitate to tackle certain problems of democra-

¹ Quoted with permission from "...the last great hope . . ." *Democracy Makes New Demands on Education*, by Henry Wyman Holmes. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955. 50 pp.

cy; and some of these may hide in their complexity the turning points on which success or failure for democracy may hinge. In that case, what we have to teach is trust in experts — which is itself a lesson in democracy, not to mention the processes by which experts are selected, trained and held accountable.

"International finance occurs to me as an example of a problem we must leave to specialists. I choose it, you will guess, because I find it quite incomprehensible myself. Perhaps our friends who are working exclusively at economic education can make it simple enough for me, and so for high-school classes. However that may be, there are other problems that are crucial to democracy and yet fully subject to discussion in a high-school class.

"Labor-management relations is one; the fundamentals of a free economy, not forgetting its social obligations or its difficulties, constitute another, or many others; and then follow (but in no fixed sequence) political reform in town and city government; civil rights in law and practice; public opinion and its sources in the press and mass-communication media; how to know a good political candidate when you see him; how communities can get to work to meet their own needs; what youth can do, with adult help, toward checking lawlessness; the conservation of natural and human resources; and how the isms differ from democracy. . . .

"*The* major aim is, first of all, a clearer grasp and deeper faith in democracy. After that, and helping

to achieve it, aims like these: a keener interest in politics; a more determined effort to choose superior political leaders; firmness against prejudice and the denial of civil rights to any group or class; respect for law and a stronger sense of its dependence upon community support; willingness to help in community improvements; a surer understanding of our economic system; a larger outlook on the international situation, with its central issue between war and peace in an atomic age; and finally a more abiding confidence in the value of religious inspiration not only in our private lives but in our civic living.

"I will not say these aims cover all that may or should be done in civic education. They do seem to me to form a fairly comprehensive set of objectives, interwoven one with another, and not vitiated by making one aim — even so important an aim as intergroup understanding, respect and good will — stand out as separate from all other aspects of good citizenship.

"Of course the question will arise, 'But how can teachers undertake all this?' The answer, though it is not obvious, is hardly far to seek. In their college studies, teachers ought to come to grips with major social issues, and in their special preparation for their work as teachers become acquainted with the aims, materials and methods of education for citizenship. This is a dual requirement I would urge for all teachers, not for social-studies teachers only; but of course the social-studies teachers should do more than others."

A Flood Prevention Plan

Federal-city-rural program makes rains behave, stops erosion, damage to communities, loss of water supply.

By PETER FARB*

SIX years ago Sandstone Creek in western Oklahoma had nine floods a year regularly. Few waterways in the nation had more floods, mile for mile. So much soil washed down from bleeding gullies and eroded hillsides that the creek was filling up about half a foot a year. Many ranchers headed for drier parts and those who stuck it out found the practice of agriculture precarious. When the Soil Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture announced that it would try to halt floods here, one old-timer warned, "You might as well try to stop floods on a tin roof!" But the Soil Conservation Service believed that nature's own methods could help do the job.

Since no storer of water has ever been invented that is more efficient than deep, porous soil, SCS and 127 landowners in the watershed worked out conservation farm plans that would make the earth one vast sponge. The farmers and ranchers planted deep-rooted grasses that canalled water into natural underground reservoirs. They built 450 miles of terraces. They switched to contour plowing and crop rotation and they plugged up gullies. To hold

back heavy rains that the soil couldn't soak up, a network of tiny earthen dams was built around the watershed. The grand design was to "trap the raindrops where they fall."

I visited Sandstone last fall, just after it had been drenched by eleven inches of rain, two-thirds as much as fell in the whole previous year. But when I arrived, Sandstone Creek was well within its banks; the dams were only partly full and could have held back another downpour! Not far away was an untreated watershed, almost a duplicate — except that in this one a brown wall of mud had spread out over creek banks, damaged roads and bridges, forced people to flee their homes.

Floods have been practically banished from Sandstone. Once-abandoned farms are now prospering, and neighboring towns have benefited. Recreation-poor communities have found a playground: the town of Cheyenne has set up a park on one of the dam sites and the Boy Scouts have built a spanking new camp in the watershed. Wild life has come back into what was a near desert. As the flood problem diminished droughts did, too. The creek used to be a parched stream-bed most of the year, running only at flood time. But it has been flowing steadily ever since the SCS project was completed. Farmers told me of recharged springs

* Mr. Farb, formerly in advertising and publishing, is a free lance writer who has contributed to numerous national magazines. He is a member of many conservation organizations.

and wells, new water for irrigation, higher yields to the acre. You can even put a price tag on the benefits — three dollars are being returned for every dollar invested.

The nation's staggering annual flood bill, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, amounts to more than a billion dollars; and roughly half the damage is on the upstream tributaries similar to Sandstone. Yet, to curtail these upstream floods, SCS gets only two or three pennies out of every federal flood-control dollar. The rest goes for the big downstream dams. But in spite of the billions of dollars the Army Corps of Engineers has taken from the public treasury to dam, dike and levee water into behaving itself, floods continue to do extensive damage every year.

Floods Reduced Cheaply

In a year that saw the worst floods ever to hit the northeast and the Pacific coast, I stood at Sandstone and before my eyes was spread a plain fact: *floods can be reduced efficiently and economically by SCS upstream flood prevention.* The method has been tested and proved again and again over the past ten years, on hilly land and flat land, agricultural areas and urban areas.

The upstream approach is as different from the Army Engineers' big dams as earth is from concrete. While SCS materially diminishes floods by trapping water upstream, thus minimizing flood conditions downstream, the Army Engineers try to control already swollen rivers. Moreover, the average SCS dam is little more than 1/2000th the size of

the typical engineers structure. It is cheaper to build a string of small SCS dams than one big dam; and the little dams beat the big one at the job!

Upstream flood prevention is going on all over the country at a quickening pace. Three years ago, SCS started up 60 pilot projects in all sections of the nation to show that local people could and would take the initiative in meeting their flood problems. Then, two years ago, Congress confirmed upstream prevention as our national policy by passing Public Law 566.

The beauty of Public Law 566 is that it puts responsibility at home: the people who live in the watershed and carry out the project are the ones who control it (SCS field men provide only the technical skills). These are local undertakings with federal help, not federal work projects. Under PL 566, on an average, at least half the cost will be borne by local and state groups.

More than 460 watersheds in 45 states have already applied for help under PL 566; their applications are being endorsed by thousands of clubs, civic organizations, farm groups, chambers of commerce; and 21 states have passed 40 laws giving local government more power to work with the Soil Conservation Service and to assume more local responsibility.

"This is the greatest response of community and state interest that we've seen since we got the soil-and-water conservation program going in the '30s," Donald A. Williams, head of SCS, told me. And the amazing fact is that this nation-wide program

of upstream flood prevention has been started up for less than the cost of just one typical Army Corps of Engineers dam!

Upstream prevention is of interest to cities as well as farm areas. Eight years ago industrial Lancaster, Ohio, on the Upper Hocking River, was hit by a million-dollar flood that almost knocked it off its feet. The Army Engineers had a prescription for the watershed; huge dams, levees and miles-long reservoirs costing some four million dollars. The citizens of Lancaster, realizing that much of their industrial prosperity was based on the prosperity of the surrounding agricultural areas, decided to look upstream also, for on the little rivulets and creeks were born the destructive floods that sent them climbing onto their roofs.

City-Farmer Association

So Lancaster called in the SCS and a city-farmer association was formed. Small dams were built upstream on wasteland acres, and farmers put the best conservation measures to work. With the help of four local, state and federal agencies, a green mantle of trees is settling on the Upper Hocking to break the force of driving rain. Local-state-federal partnership is taking care of the costs — about one and a half million dollars — and floods from the Upper Hocking watershed are being reduced to a minimum without the sacrifice of a single acre of valuable, taxable farm land.

When cities expand and reach out into one-time agricultural areas, the flood problem often worsens. Up go the factories. Super-highways are

laid down to speed workers from new housing developments to their jobs. Housing subdivisions cover soil that formerly soaked up rain water; slick roads and roofs provide man-made runways for unruly water. This hardening of the arteries with concrete has set in on Walnut Creek, fifteen miles back in the Oakland hills from San Francisco Bay. At the start of World War II, the population in the watershed was 16,000; now it's over 125,000 and new residents are arriving at the rate of 1,250 a month.

A storm five years ago dumped six inches of rain over the area and deposited up to three feet of water and silt in hundreds of homes. Soil Conservation Service and the county flood control district set out to lessen future damage. By means of land treatment of the remaining agricultural acres, strengthening the banks of the creek, and a small dam, they worked out a plan to hold back water from the concentration of homes. The creek was designated a pilot three years ago and work got under way.

Then came the 1955 Christmas week downpour that caused record flood damage throughout northern California. Only part of the SCS project was completed on Walnut Creek when the storm spilled ten inches of rain on the area. What was the damage? Almost none where SCS flood-proofing had been completed. By comparison, in a nearby untreated area water swept through 757 homes.

Exactly how efficient is good soil, sprouting grasses and trees at holding water? Tests on some of our

best soils show they can absorb up to a twelve-inch torrent without yielding a drop of run-off. Many years ago an exacting study was made of rainfall in Mississippi. During one bad storm 62 per cent of the rain that fell on a cotton plantation washed down the naked soil between the rows; but a nearby lush forest held almost every drop of the same amount of rain. That's because the vast root systems of trees and grasses form natural passageways leading the water underground. One agriculturist counted up the number of root passageways put out by a single four-months-old grass plant; there were 14,000,000 of them!

A Pilot Project

A protective coating of vegetation on the land also locks the soil in place, preventing mud flows in the plains below. Mount Pleasant, a small community in Utah, traced its floods of liquid earth to overgrazing of the mountains that surround the town. When rain falls or snow melts on these denuded uplands, a deluge of earth and boulders comes grinding down the steep canyons. In 1946 a mud-flow caused \$106,000 worth of damage, rolling huge boulders through Main Street like marbles. When Pleasant Creek was chosen as a pilot project, the uplands started to get needed technical aid. The townspeople purchased forage to keep grazing sheep off the hills until the coating of grasses could become established. Last August, a cloud-burst hit the Mount Pleasant uplands, of the same intensity as caused the 1946 disaster. Damage, absolute minimum.

To see land treatment in action on a big scale, I went to southeastern Nebraska. The Salt-Wahoo watershed is a web of many streams and creeks that flow through a bowl of land larger than Rhode Island. Seven of the streams converge on the state capital, Lincoln, like the spokes of a wheel. Six years ago these spokes and other tributaries in southeastern Nebraska were charged with water that caused property damage of \$53,000,000 and took 27 lives. Even the average year cost taxpayers \$350,000 for repairs to bridges and county roads.

When the 1950 floods hit Lincoln, only 4 per cent of the farm lands in the watershed were under a soil-and-water conservation plan. Today that figure is closer to 30 per cent, and on some streams there's a conservation plan for up to 95 per cent of the acreage administered by farmers with the help of SCS.

Results at Salt-Wahoo are beginning to show: before work was begun on Swedeburg Watershed, just south of Wahoo, run-off water used to rush down towards the channel valleys in a six-hour orgy. Now, after a recent storm, it was held on the land and behind small dams, leisurely filtering down in five days without getting out of its banks.

In my cross-country survey of SCS flood-proofing, this fact impressed me: once communities start doing something about their flood problem, they keep going and try to cure other water ills. In Memphis, Tennessee, for example, where the Wolf River empties into the Mississippi, an SCS flood-proofing program

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The World's Great Cities

Scholars find metropolitan problems same everywhere; fragmentation, inner city blight, poor plans, apathy.

By ARCH DOTSON*

ONE of the most striking developments of recent civilization has been the rise of the metropolitan community. All over the world, and irrespective of historical setting or national circumstance, this urban phenomenon is emerging. It has already appeared on every contingent and in every major country. The future, evidently, promises only more and bigger metropolises.

Recently, a group of 22 scholars combined their knowledge and experience in an effort to analyze this new social and political form. They sought to describe its characteristics, its special problems and the measures which are being taken to solve these problems. In the present article I shall report the main findings of this unusual study¹ as they deal with the characteristics and problems of the metropolis. In a succeeding article, I shall discuss the outstanding attempts at reform.

The world's great cities are astonishingly similar in their basic features. For example, they are alike demographically. This is not to say merely that all have large populations, for this is a prerequisite of metropolitanism. But it is to say

that metropolitan communities contain disproportionate concentrations of people in relation to their surrounding regions or even to their parent countries. Thus New York contains more people than the rest of New York State and is larger than 43 of the 48 states. Metropolitan Copenhagen includes approximately one-fourth of the total population of Denmark.

Sydney contains nearly half the total population of New South Wales. Paris embraces about one-eighth of the population of France. In England and Wales, two-fifths of the entire nation lives in London and five other metropolitan areas. The situation is the same everywhere, as the great conurbations have drawn and continue to draw within their orbits vast segments of the world's people.

The metropolitan communities are also alike economically. They are centers of production, marketing and finance. For example, it is reported concerning Moscow:

A great range of consumer goods are produced, clothing and footwear, motor cycles, radio sets, watches and household utensils, and Moscow is the biggest source of supply of fabrics, footwear and clothing in the Soviet Union. Small-scale industry, organized in industrial cooperatives, also produces considerable quantities of clothing, furniture, china and

* Dr. Dotson is assistant professor of government at Cornell University.

¹ *Great Cities of the World*, edited by William A. Robson. New York, Macmillan Company, 1955. Page citations only will be given below. The author served as editorial assistant on this project.

other articles. Moscow has been the scene of an unparalleled increase in production during the past twenty years. (Page 384.)

And in Stockholm, the dominant economic position of the city "is not due to its direct industrial importance but rather to the fact that a considerable part of the economic life of Sweden is administered from there. Many industrial firms with production units elsewhere have their head offices in Stockholm." (Page 550.) Throughout the world, be it the United States, India, South America or New Zealand, the pattern is the same: the metropolitan areas have become points of concentration or control of regional, national and international economic activity.

The dominance of the metropolis extends also to those vital activities which may be designated broadly as "cultural." For example, in London:

The great national collections housed there include the British Museum, the Record Office, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery. [Here] is the home of the Royal Society, the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons, the Inns of Court, and many other learned bodies. Most of the leading hospitals at which teaching and research are carried out are located in London. The University of London is the largest university in Britain and the principal center for post-graduate study and research, to which students come from all parts of the world. London is the principal domain in Britain of dramatic and musical enterprise, of the opera and ballet, of film production and broadcasting. It is the directing center for

book, newspaper and periodical publishing. Its arenas provide the setting for many great sporting and athletic contests of national or international interest. (Page 260.)

By changing little more than the names, this description could be applied to all the other great cities of the world.

Common Problems

As striking as are their demographic, economic and cultural similarities, the great cities are even more alike in the political problems which they face. Again and again, reports from individual cities complain of basic deficiencies in governmental organization and operation. These common problems may be summarized under five main headings.

1. Fragmentation of jurisdiction.

Nowhere in the world is the social and economic reality that is a metropolitan community embraced within a single local government. On the contrary, many units of equal status have splintered the area. For example, metropolitan Rome is divided among 100 communes, each of which is a separate organ of local government. Metropolitan Paris contains at least 80 separate communes.

The Chicago metropolitan area is divided into no fewer than 821 governmental units, including school districts, municipalities, townships and counties. In Montreal there are nearly 60 municipalities in the metropolitan area. Greater New York contains about 550 cities, towns and villages which for all practical purposes are independent of each other. Metropolitan New York,

moreover, embraces parts of three states. Political fragmentation is a universal problem of metropolitan government.

The specific difficulties which flow from this condition are equally widespread and inescapable. A series of small, competing authorities cannot meet the needs of a single, interdependent community. The great cities have found that they do not possess the political unity which is necessary for coordinated policies. Many small areas have been unable to provide services at the level which their residents require.

2. Bankruptcy and blight of inner cities.

A second problem is related to the first but is connected also to social and economic characteristics of the metropolitan community itself. The survey of the world's great cities reveals that none of them has sufficient revenue to meet its capital and operating needs. This is true whether the city is industrialized like New York or Paris or is a commercial center like Calcutta. It is as true in Chicago as it is in Copenhagen.

But while an over-all revenue deficiency exists, it is also the case that the deficits are distributed unevenly within metropolitan areas. Typically, the central units are least able to satisfy their fiscal requirements. Indeed, the disparity is so great that:

New York City exists in a state of chronic bankruptcy. It is not that municipal bills are not paid — although there have been crises when obligations were far greater than resources and further borrowing seemed impossible — but that, facing the

fiscal problem, budget-makers have had to reduce expenditures until the municipal services reached an almost impossibly low level. Streets have not been properly cleaned and repaired for decades; the school system is miserably maintained; water is chronically short; transportation on the municipally-owned lines is such that daily travel is an ordeal — and similar shortcomings affect every one of the three-hundred odd services which the city pretends to perform for its citizens. (Page 417.)

Urban Blight

Lest it be supposed that this is a condition peculiar to New York, the same reports come from London, Rome, Sydney and most other metropolitan cities.

The inner units caught in the fiscal squeeze are also suffering from what is often called the urban "blight." As a result of a tendency for the wealthier members of metropolitan communities to move out to the edge of the area, and then commute to the center to work, shop and play, a general deterioration of the core units sets in. Slums appear and spread; and the in-migration of a population with high needs for public services, but with low taxpaying capacity, speeds the process of decay. The political, social and fiscal consequences of this transformation have been the same everywhere.

Whereas merchants and manufacturers formed more than half of the Manchester council in 1838, they formed 13 per cent a hundred years later, and only one of the present 42 directors of the chamber of commerce is a member of the city council. . . .

Between the wars the exodus to Cheshire was not confined to leading businessmen, doctors and lawyers, but included teachers, clerks and men occupying managerial positions in industry. The lure of the countryside, of purer air and lower rates, has meant that Manchester finances have not benefited from the increase in the city's wealth. (Page 330.)

3. Ineffective planning.

In light of the foregoing problems, it is perhaps to be expected that the metropolitan governments also face serious problems of planning. Their growth and development have been almost completely haphazard. Individual cities have, indeed, adopted imaginative and constructive plans, but these proposals either have not been, or could not be, carried out.

No doubt Paris represents the nearest approach to over-all regional planning. None the less, the plan there has concentrated on aesthetic and conservation aims, while housing, schools, roads and public utilities have been seriously neglected. Rome also has made several attempts to produce a master plan, notably in 1931 and 1940. These plans were not put into effect, however, and at present there exists no organ for comprehensive metropolitan planning. As a result, the overcrowding in the tenements of Rome has spilled into some of the suburbs, where living conditions are primitive and public services are especially inadequate. "Squalor, disease and poverty are rampant in these suburbs, which are a potential menace to the whole metropolitan community." (Page 92.)

Chicago has maintained some kind

of plan since 1909. Although much has been done to carry out some provisions of the several master plans which have been adopted and revised since then, the city still has vast areas of derelict buildings and slum quarters. The problem is the planning of *greater* Chicago, and the only unifying agency which is presently available for this purpose is the unofficial Chicago Regional Planning Association. In Amsterdam, New York, Copenhagen, London, Bombay and half a dozen other great cities, plans have existed on paper.

Despite these efforts at planning for individual units, the metropolitan areas—and especially the inner units—are still seriously ill-designed and unregulated. They lack adequate parks or playgrounds, they retain suffocating alleys and narrow streets, slums are gradually spreading to additional units. The atmosphere and streams are polluted by industrial and residential wastes. The problems of transport and movement are so great that many central units have virtually seized-up.

4. Operating inefficiency.

The world's great cities confront both particular and general problems of efficiency. Repeatedly, the studies reveal inadequacies in municipal services. It would seem that: "The great city of today lives by a miracle. It is not operating on a satisfactory standard in regard to schools, housing, open spaces and playing fields, traffic circulation, public transport, police protection and many other services." (Page 100.)

In their present form, metropolitan

governments are bound to be inefficient. The existence of multiple units with separate facilities and duplicate personnel must produce inefficiency. Moreover, the pressure of many jurisdictions upon a single set of resources is certain to result in competition, local jealousies and intergovernmental friction. The record of the experience of the twenty great cities all over the world only confirms these expectations.

5. Political apathy.

With the conspicuous exception of Moscow, where data are not very meaningful for comparison with western cities, metropolitan governments report acute problems of political apathy among their citizens. In Chicago, for example, it is reported that "politics have been bawdy, corrupt and unashamed. At times the machine politicians have overstrained the public's wide tolerance and have been thrown out for a while, but they have always returned. . . . Chicagoans have been hard to arouse to civic action." (Pages 208-9.)

On the other side of the world, where 90 per cent of the electorate normally vote in a parliamentary election, only 50 to 60 per cent of the voters cast ballots in Wellington's municipal elections. Moreover, in the city of Sydney, "political honors are tending to be sought principally by those who can make a better living from their pursuit than from business." (Page 591.) In South America, in relatively democratic Brazil, "the most alarming aspect of the political equation

. . . is the lack of popular interest in democratic institutions." (Page 508.)

In Paris, Bombay, Calcutta, Buenos Aires and other great cities, it has been the low level of interest in local affairs which has permitted these municipalities to be governed by prefects and commissioners, while only nominal self-government has been left to the metropolitan units themselves.

The causes of this relatively greater political indifference among metropolitan citizens cannot be established on a comparative basis. But some of its sources seem clear in the light of other problems of metropolitan governments. Of great importance, surely, is the over-all governmental structure of the metropolitan community. Persons who live in one jurisdiction but earn their livelihoods in another are bound to have divided interests. A political dilemma is established by the daily movement of population among political units. Those who work outside the jurisdiction of their residence are not entitled to vote concerning matters of local government except on those of their home unit. But those who live and work in the inner units, to and from which tides of outsiders flow each day, are likely to have difficulty in gaining any feeling of parochial responsibility for the destiny of their own governments.

The result is that there is no identification of civic and political interest: the cause is the lack of correspondence between the units of government and the larger political reality of the metropolitan community. Related to this division of

political loyalties is the very complexity of government itself in such urban regions. The difficulties of understanding the political systems of many partial and overlapping governments are almost insurmountable. At the same time urbanite and suburbanite alike are likely to have a sense of futility and frustration about political participation when they perceive the limitations of the individual units to which their efforts must be confined in any attempts to solve major problems.

Still again, it is altogether probable that the turnover of population in metropolitan areas contributes much to the apathy of their residents. In the inner units particularly is this factor likely to be effective. The large cities continue to attract people from the hinterland; and the newcomers tend to gravitate to the blighted areas of the older units while the established residents move out to the suburbs. Moreover, foreign immigrants often stop in the great cities which are ports of disembarkation, where they quickly

form social enclaves. In both cases, large and unassimilated segments of the metropolitan body politic are quite unprepared to vote or to take active part in the affairs of their governments.

Conclusion

The metropolitan governments of the world face still other serious problems. Some of these, of course, are more acute in some cities than in others. It is also important to note that most of their major problems are highly interrelated.

In some, the pressing problems for which the world's great cities now seek solutions are the (a) fragmentation of jurisdictions, (b) bankruptcy and blight of the inner units, (c) ineffective planning of over-all development, (d) inefficiency of governmental operation and (e) political apathy of citizens with respect to local affairs. In a succeeding article, I shall describe and evaluate some of the outstanding efforts which have been made to solve these problems.

Resurgence of Coventry

Four-fifth destroyed by Hitler's bombs, 'medieval city' seizes chance to become modern, prosperous.

By PETER B. BART and MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR.*

ON the crisp, moonlit evening of November 12, 1940, 500 German bombers roared over the English midlands. Their destination was Coventry. Their objective, to blast that city and its pulsing factories off the map.

Ten hours and many thousands of bombs later the Luftwaffe departed. Below were the smoking ruins of what had been one of Britain's most important industrial cities. And in the midst of the wreckage was the charred skeleton of Coventry's magnificent fifteenth century cathedral. On the following morning Hitler swaggeringly boasted that Coventry had been totally obliterated.

Hitler's boast proved to be ill-founded. Although four-fifths of the city had been damaged in the raid, Coventry was far from obliterated. Within a few hours after the blitz puffs of smoke started appearing from the chimneys of roofless houses. When the King visited the shattered city on the next day reconstruction was already under way.

Now, nearly sixteen years later, a visitor can hardly detect signs of the disaster of 1940. The only clue is the wreckage of the cathedral which

still remains. Broadgate, the city center, is now a gleaming square consisting of department stores, offices and a new 106-room hotel. More than 3,500 new homes are being built each year to house a population that has swelled to 264,000 from a prewar 190,000.

Industrial production is booming: last year over a million trucks and cars rolled off assembly lines in the midlands region of which Coventry's factories form a crucial part. A spokesman for the city's automotive industry recently declared the plants could easily employ 50,000 additional men if more labor were available.

Last July, as a final symbol of recovery, construction of a new cathedral was begun. It is going to be a thoroughly modern cathedral standing adjacent to the ruins of its medieval predecessor.

Coventry, in short, is one of England's outstanding success stories in urban redevelopment. The city that Hitler thought he had destroyed today is prosperous and flourishing.

Down through the centuries the city had remained a stolid midlands community whose fame rested chiefly on one illustrious inhabitant — Lady Godiva, who, according to eleventh century legend, rode naked through the streets to awaken her parsimonious husband, Earl Leofric, to the sufferings of the poor.

* Mr. Bart, a staff reporter covering the southwest for the *Wall Street Journal*, recently returned from a year's stay in England where he studied under a Social Science Research Council grant. Mr. Cummings is a Rhodes Scholar studying at Nuffield College, Oxford University.

Up until the evening of November 15, 1940, Coventry, to all appearances, was a typical medieval city: there was the crowded market place at the town's center; the dark, narrow roadways; the squalid, box-like houses scattered among the factories.

"Coventry, like all industrial towns in England, was like Topsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* — it just grewed," said Alderman G. E. Hodgkinson, chairman of the city council's planning and redevelopment committee. "But in 1940," he added, "we were presented with a literally heaven-sent opportunity to plan the building of a new town almost from scratch."

By February 1941, Alderman Hodgkinson's committee had unfurled a comprehensive architect's design for a new Broadgate, the central square which had been 90 per cent destroyed by the raid. A delegation was sent to London to secure special redevelopment powers.

"Back in those war days some of us used to think the planners were dreaming," said one elderly Coventry taxi driver. "But look at the town now; a lot of those dreams have come true."

Today's visitor may wander through what's left of the dingy "old quarter" of the city and acquire some impression of medieval Coventry. He may then stroll into the new Broadgate where all is bright and modern. Much of the area follows the so-called "shopping precinct plan." The stores face inward upon spacious patios where housewives window shop away from the swirl of city traffic. Two of the main com-

mercial streets leading to Broadgate are barred to trucks or autos, but spacious car-parks are provided near by.

Work has begun on an unusual "second story sidewalk" which, when completed, will provide double-decker window shopping. The new sidewalks will be constructed atop the old ones on several side streets off Broadgate.

Housing Problem

Redevelopment has not been confined to the commercial area of Coventry. At war's end housing was the most critical problem. More than 4,000 homes were completely destroyed in the blitz, while 60,000 were damaged. About 700 carrier vans were serving as living quarters and several Coventry families were living in abandoned automobile packing cases.

By the end of 1954, however, a vigorous housing program accounted for about 50 per cent of the municipal government's postwar capital expenditure. More than 8,300 units were built by the city council; 4,200 more were constructed by private enterprise. During the first five years of scarcity after the war, municipal enterprise accounted for 80 per cent of Coventry's new housing. Under a Conservative national government, however, about 40 per cent of the new houses were constructed by speculative builders. Civic officials now estimate that in 1955 the city put up about 1,800 new homes while private enterprise accounted for an additional 1,700.

Much of this postwar construction was patterned after comprehen-

sive development schemes of the neighborhood unit type. Centers offering nearly all services and shopping facilities were erected within walking distance of major housing developments. The town's Tile Hill neighborhood project, which won a "planning diploma" award from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, is a good example of this plan. Tile Hill, erected on undeveloped land to the west of Coventry, will eventually house 10,000. It contains a cinema, library, community center and shopping area. Mixed in among the private houses are small homes for orphaned children and specially designed bungalows for aged couples.

Town Clerk Barratt, whose job roughly corresponds to that of the American city manager, explained: "Coventry is, after all, the Detroit of Britain; it is a rapidly expanding city. It is Britain's leading producer of trucks, automobiles, airplane engines, tractors, machine tools and rayon. It was our task to see that, despite the pressure of industrial expansion, Coventry did not lapse into its pre-blitz formlessness."

Although Coventry has fought hard to ease its housing problems, they persist to the present day. Chiefly because of a scarcity of building materials, families still camp in trailers on the outskirts of town. "There has been hardly any slum clearance in the formal sense of the word because we honestly hesitate to pull anything down that is habitable while the housing situation is as tight as it is," remarked Alderman Hodgkinson.

During the years of greatest

shortage before 1951 the fact that so much was actually accomplished was due to maximum cooperation between officials at all governmental levels.

First, the national government played a significant role. Grants-in-aid from the national exchequer helped spur Coventry's resurgence. In addition, under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, the city council was charged to prepare and present for approval plans for the town's redevelopment. The program was to take place under the supervision — somewhat vague in actual practice — of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. When shortages and restrictions were most stringent, national government departments issued building permits on all construction projects. Later this practice gave way to annual quotas for public housing units. The quotas were formulated on a year-to-year basis to the irritation of some local planners.

Cooperative Enterprise

Equally significant was the close collaboration between municipal and private enterprise. The blueprint for the downtown shopping center was prepared by municipal architects, and the first block of shops, called Broadgate House, was built by the city council. As Alderman Hodgkinson noted, this "set the seal" on the form the city center was eventually to take. Thereafter the normal pattern for British urban center development by private enterprise was generally followed. Private firms contracted for 99-year leases on municipally-owned sites and erected

buildings at their own expense. Only one principal municipal stipulation was laid down: all lessees in the central area had to agree to conform to the planners' over-all design. The planners today feel this stipulation was responsible for the new Coventry's architectural harmony.

Although much of the credit for Coventry's renaissance must be given to the guidance of the national government as well as to private initiative, the spark that set everything in motion was ignited at the local level. "When you consider the energy and determination that went into the rebuilding of our city, I think you will have to admit it was what people call a 'grass roots movement'," asserted Alderman Sidney Stringer, Labor leader of the city council.

City Council Leads

Spearheading local efforts at redevelopment was the city council, which has been dominated since 1937 by the Labor party. The local council has been a dynamic and often highly controversial force in Coventry life in the postwar years. But despite all the partisan battles that have been waged within the council chambers, the issue of redevelopment has largely been a bipartisan one. "We have tried to get along with the Socialists in supporting the postwar construction programs," declared Councillor T. J. Prentice, leader of the local Conservatives. At times this bipartisanship was threatened by disagreements over the ratio of mu-

nicipal to private construction and similar issues.

The influence of non-political citizen groups in civic affairs never amounted to much. Most observers agree that citizen bodies played but a peripheral role in the city's redevelopment. Such groups were, however, sounded out by the council on certain aspects of the redevelopment program. Coventry officials discussed plans with the chamber of commerce, the Ratepayers Association, the Newspaper Retailers Association, church representatives and many others. Councillors also retained close contact with community groups.

But as Town Clerk Barratt stated: "In England there is very much less participation of non-political groups in local government than in the United States. One reason is that we never had to face strong public reaction to an inefficient and corrupt municipal administration. A local council in England is more inclined to take the line that it has been appointed to represent the public, and if its policies are not acceptable the public have the remedy in their own hands at succeeding elections."

Mr. Barratt's conclusions would seem to be correct at least in Coventry's case. The local members of the council never appeared to be inhibited either by the weight of their responsibilities or by the prospect of stirring controversy. As the local newspaper editorialized: "Coventry is a tempestuous city. What happens may not always be wise, but it is usually interesting."

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Manager Adoptions Pass 1400 Mark

35 More Municipalities Added to List This Year

WITH the addition of 35 more cities, villages and towns to the list of places that have adopted the council-manager plan of government, the total has reached 1,410.

YAKIMA, WASHINGTON, (38,486)¹ voted 7,451 to 3,803 at the general election on March 13 in favor of a charter amendment replacing the commission plan by the council-manager plan. The vote was the result of a petition calling for a referendum. The plan goes into effect in June 1958. Yakima defeated two prior council-manager proposals by small margins.

On April 17 GALESBURG, ILLINOIS, (31,425)¹ adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 5,542 to 4,061. The plan will go into effect in April 1957.

BURLINGAME, CALIFORNIA, (19,886) adopted the council-manager plan on April 10 by a vote of 1,777 to 1,480.

MOUNDSVILLE, WEST VIRGINIA, (14,772)¹ voted 1,339 to 1,139 on April 3 to adopt a council-manager charter. About one-third of the eligible voters participated. The plan goes into effect July 1, 1957.

In BETHEL, PENNSYLVANIA, (11,324)¹ the council-manager plan was adopted on February 7 by ordinance.

In SANTA MARIA, CALIFORNIA, (10,440)¹ the plan was adopted on March 19 by ordinance.

MARION, VIRGINIA, (6,982)¹ has been placed on the official council-manager list of the International City Managers' As-

sociation as having an acceptable manager plan.

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, (6,194)¹ adopted the provisions of the state's council-manager enabling act by a vote of 1,169 to 620 on March 5.

Five New Hampshire towns adopted the manager plan at town meetings on March 13. The towns, with their 1950 populations, are EXETER (5,664), GOFFSTOWN (5,638), CONWAY (4,109), NORTHUMBERLAND (2,779) and GROVETON (1,918).

FRANKLIN, OHIO, (5,388)¹ voted 370 to 265 at a special election on March 6 to adopt the council-manager plan. It will go into effect January 1, 1958, with a council of five, elected at large, which will appoint the manager, auditor, treasurer and solicitor.

Voters of LAKE GENEVA, WISCONSIN, (4,300)¹ have adopted the council-manager form of government, 769 to 744.

OJAI, CALIFORNIA, (1953 population 3,411) voted by 639 to 316 on April 10 to approve a council-manager ordinance which will take effect 70 days after the election.

The city council of MAPLETON, IOWA, (1,857)¹ recently adopted an ordinance providing for the appointment of a city manager.

Other Developments

WILMINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS, voted 1,426 to 1,057 on March 3 to retain the council-manager plan.

In WARE, MASSACHUSETTS, a special committee has recommended that the town adopt some form of town manager government.

In BILLERICA, MASSACHUSETTS, a town manager committee is actively campaigning to bring the manager plan to that town.

¹ 1950 population.

A town meeting in ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS, on March 10 voted to have the moderator appoint a committee of seven to nine to petition the legislature, after public hearings, for enactment of legislation to establish a selectmen-town manager plan substantially in the form recommended by the present town government study committee.

Petitions for a recall election have been filed in PARSIIPPANY-TROY HILLS, NEW JERSEY, bearing somewhat more names than the required 25 per cent of the registration, and May 29 has been tentatively set for the election. The petitions, filed by an ousted township committeeman, are directed against four councilmen elected in May 1954, when the township initiated the council-manager plan.

SOUTH NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, voted 1,574 to 627 on March 20 against a proposal to substitute the commission plan for the existing council-manager plan, dating from 1947.

In PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA, which adopted the manager plan in 1917, the ward system of electing councilmen was replaced by elections at large, with staggered terms of four years each, except at the outset (June 12) when three will be elected for two-year terms. The vote was 3,870 to 1,884. The size of the council was reduced from eleven to seven.

A proposed council-manager plan was defeated at a referendum election in DALTON, GEORGIA, on March 14. The *Dalton News* points out that the proposal was combined with various other proposed charter amendments and asserts that the result does not necessarily mean that the citizens are opposed to the manager plan or the full-time mayor plan.

In NEWARK, OHIO, the charter study commission has been weighing the relative advantages of the council-manager and the mayor-council forms of government.

In NORWOOD, OHIO, the Property Owner's Association is renewing discussion of the council-manager plan.

A proposed council-manager amendment to the village charter was defeated in WHITEHALL, OHIO, by a vote of 736 to 436 on March 20. Whitehall now has a mayor-council plan.

In DOWNERS GROVE, ILLINOIS, a referendum on the question of creating the office of village manager is scheduled for May 12.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in ARGO, ILLINOIS.

In SOUTH ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has called upon the charter commission to consider the advisability of presenting a new or revised home rule charter in place of the 1905 charter now in effect. The chamber has shown interest in the manager plan.

In ROSEVILLE, MINNESOTA, a suburb of St. Paul, petitions for the council-manager plan have been circulated.

Missouri Cities

Commenting on the election of charter commissions in CLAYTON and BERKELEY, MISSOURI, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* points out that three other St. Louis County municipalities—FERGUSON, UNIVERSITY CITY and WEBSTER GROVES—have home rule council-manager charters and are worth investigating by their neighbors contemplating new charters.

FLAT RIVER, MISSOURI, voted 671 to 308 on April 3 against adoption of the council-manager plan.

STURGIS, SOUTH DAKOTA, voted on February 28 to change from the mayor-council plan to a commission plan, with five commissioners. This carried by a margin of only eighteen votes. At the same time a proposal for a commission-manager plan, urged by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, failed by only eleven votes. The present aldermen, elected from wards, will be replaced by commissioners elected at large.

The RATON, NEW MEXICO, *Range* states editorially that agitation for the manager plan is meeting a favorable response. It

asserts that Raton "is fed up with part-time attention to city government."

A council-manager charter for BOWIE, TEXAS, drafted by an elected charter commission, was defeated at the city election on April 3 by a vote of 634 to 355. Two ex-mayors led the opposition, alleging that taxes would be greatly increased, that the manager would be a dictator and even that federal pensions would be cut!

The WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON, *Union-Bulletin* speaks approvingly of the replacement of the commission plan in YAKIMA by the council-manager plan (see prior note) and looks upon it as a good omen for similar action in Walla Walla.

The PILOT ROCK, OREGON, Planning Commission recommended on March 8 that the council include in its proposed charter the council-manager plan, the manager to be an engineer. It also urged that such a charter be submitted to vote at the May primary election.

TOLEDO, OREGON, will vote at the May primary on adoption of a council-manager charter.

On April 10 voters of AZUZA, CALIFORNIA, defeated a proposal for adoption of the council-manager plan, 904 to 416.

The city council of LINCOLN, CALIFORNIA, has been considering the creation of the position of city manager for the direction of city business, street and engineering projects and other city activities.

The Los Angeles chapter of the American Society of Public Administration has given its first annual Award for Outstanding Administrative Performance to INGLEWOOD, CALIFORNIA, which has had the council-manager plan since 1946.

California city managers held the largest meeting of their history at Anaheim, February 29 to March 2, with 186 managers, administrators and assistants in attendance. Arizona managers sponsored a meeting with Nevada and Utah managers, March 6-7, at Tempe. Fourteen Minnesota managers and two from adjoining states attended the City Managers' Insti-

tute at the Continuation Center, University of Minnesota, March 26-27. Seventeen Missouri managers met in Columbia on February 11. South Carolina managers met on February 27 in Spartanburg; thirteen out of fourteen managers were present. Many Michigan managers attended the Eighth Annual Management Institute at Ann Arbor, February 15-17. Illinois managers had their third annual Managers' Institute March 30-31 in Highland Park, in cooperation with the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the University of Illinois.

Duluth Charter Provides Administrative Assistant

By a large majority Duluth, Minnesota, (1950 population 104,511) has abandoned its old plan of government by a five-man commission for the mayor-council plan, the mayor to have an administrative assistant with broad functions. The vote, on March 20, was 20,252 to 12,554 (unofficial).

The council has nine members, four of whom are to be elected at large and five by districts. The first council election will be on May 29. The term for the mayor and council is four years, excepting that at the May 29 election four of the nine councilmen are to be chosen for two-year terms (two at large and two by districts).

The administrative assistant is to be appointed by the mayor and to be removable at the mayor's pleasure. He "shall be appointed solely on his ability to perform the duties and functions of his office, as set forth in this charter, and shall have had, during the ten years immediately preceding his appointment, at least five years of successful experience as an executive or administrator such as would qualify him for the performance of these duties." He need not be a Duluth resident when appointed. If the mayor fails to appoint an administrative assistant in 90 days, the council is to appoint one.

Subject to the mayor's direction, he "shall supervise the heads of all departments, except the city attorney; appoint, with the approval of the mayor and the council, and remove, with the approval of the mayor, the heads of all departments; inform himself and keep the mayor advised concerning the activities of all offices, departments and boards and make, or cause to be made, investigations and studies of the internal organization and procedure of any office or department, and may require such reports from any of them which he deems necessary; prescribe accepted standards of administrative practice to be followed by all offices and departments; prepare the annual operating and capital budgets and supervise the execution of budget ordinances; make information available to the mayor, the council and the public concerning the current status of the financial affairs of the city and all offices, departments and boards receiving appropriations from the city; attend meetings of the council at its request and make available such information as it may require; perform all other duties required of him by this charter or by ordinance or assigned to him in writing by the mayor." He is barred from political activities.

The mayor, by prior written notice to the administrative assistant, however, may relieve him of any duties, powers or responsibilities granted him by the charter; such written notice to be filed with the city clerk as a public document.

The council may remove the administrative assistant, but only on a finding, after a hearing, that he has violated the terms of the charter restricting his political activity.

20 Universities Train for City Managership

The International City Managers' Association, at the end of 1955, counted up twenty universities which have organized courses looking toward training city man-

agers. It is not expected that graduates can usually proceed directly into city manager jobs, but there are now many interns and assistant managers who do footwork for city managers like young doctors who intern in hospitals. Last spring the 20 universities "turned out about 85 young men with master's degrees in public administration who want to be city managers."

A catalogue folder from the University of Kansas, *City Management Training Program, Class of 1955-1957*, reports that in December 1955, 32 of its 58 graduates and ex-students since 1948, when the courses began, are now holding positions as city managers, five others have been managers and some of the remainder are assistants to managers. Forty-one obtained the degree of master in public administration. The course requires nine months internship under an experienced city manager in the second year, part of the year being used in returns to the campus for three-day sessions approximately once every six weeks; also the completion of a satisfactory thesis covering some municipal problem upon which the student worked.

The folder names the current second-year trainees with their pictures, the names of the city managers under whom they are serving internships and personal data of interest to a potential employer.

The International City Managers' Association has developed a directory of potential interns or assistants from all universities.

R.S.C.

City Deficiencies Deter New Industry

Officials of an Indiana city, passed up by a large manufacturing concern looking for a site for a new plant, asked the company why another Indiana city had been chosen instead. According to the Indiana Economic Council they were told:

Too many houses showed lack of up-

keep, there was poor traffic control, the business district looked as if it had not been changed since 1900, the city's water came from one river while raw sewage was dumped into another near the junction of the two, hotel and restaurant accommodations were inadequate and poor, the bridges had a decrepit appearance, schools and hospitals were inadequate, and there was lack of zoning and planning.

The city had, however, improved its park and recreation facilities.

The by-passed community took the criticisms constructively and now has an improvement program under way, including reorganization of the local planning commission which had been inactive for five years, setting up a new commission for the county and working on a comprehensive physical plan for the whole county.

Home Rule Study Authorized in Kentucky

The Kentucky legislature, at the short session ending February 18, authorized the Legislative Research Commission to make a "comprehensive study of, and report on, the question of establishing city and county governmental authority over, and responsibility for, local governmental problems, and relieving the General Assembly of the burden of such duties." The commission is to determine what legislation, including constitutional amendments, may be necessary to permit municipalities alone to deal with purely local problems. The study is to be completed by June 15, 1957.

Pilot Transportation Studies in Seven Cities

The National Committee on Urban Transportation will conduct test studies in seven cities as part of its program of gathering information to help cities and urban areas solve their growing traffic and transportation problems.

Pilot studies will be under way by May 15 in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Crawfordsville, Indiana; Detroit, Michigan; Oak Park, Illinois; Phoenix, Arizona; San Diego, California; and Syracuse, New York. When completed about July 1, 1957, the studies will form the basis of a manual written to show officials in all cities how to carry out fact-gathering programs in an economical and efficient way.

A staff of 160 experts in the transportation field is working to test the fact-finding procedures that the manual will incorporate. The committee is to furnish an advisory staff to help each city and participating transit company in these test studies. But the cities and the companies will provide at their expense all personnel, materials and equipment for each study. Total cost of the program is expected to be \$250,000.

The nine subjects for study, in from two to seven cities each, are: administration, laws and ordinances, financial records and reports, travel desires, measurement of existing street services, inventory of existing street facilities, measurement of existing transit services, recommended standards for street services and facilities, recommended standards and objectives for transit service and facilities.

The National Committee on Urban Transportation was formed two years ago by six organizations with urban interests: the American Municipal Association, American Public Works Association, American Society of Planning officials, International City Managers' Association, Municipal Finance Officers Association and National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. The U. S. Bureau of Public Roads joined the committee later.

Reapportionment Loses in Tennessee High Court

The Tennessee Supreme Court on April 5 left to the state legislature the responsibility for reforming its own distribution

of seats, challenged as unfair and unconstitutional by groups of citizens in three heavily populated counties.

The present apportionment law was enacted 55 years ago and has been only slightly revised since then.

The court said that the ultimate result of holding the present apportionment law invalid "would be to deprive us of the present legislature and the means of electing a new one and ultimately bring about the destruction of the state itself."

Z. T. Osborn, Jr., Nashville attorney and leader in the reapportionment campaign, asserted that the court had ignored the motto on its own seal: "Let justice be done even if the skies should fall."

A lower court had ruled that a new apportionment law should be enacted before the November general election. This ruling was reversed by the high court.

Rural legislators, who have long dominated the legislature, were reported to be highly pleased with the Supreme Court's decision.

Some of the advocates of reapportionment plan to appeal the decision to the United States Supreme Court if funds can be raised. Although that court has refused to consider past appeals involving reapportionment of state legislatures, the hope is held that the court might finally apply the equal treatment doctrine of the fourteenth amendment to representation in the state legislatures.

Apportionment Events in Other States

At a special session in February the Alabama legislature approved a proposed constitutional amendment for reapportioning the state for legislative elections. The proposal, to be voted on in November, would increase the size of the Senate from 35 to 67, with one senator for each county, and raise the House membership from 106 to 152, giving additional rep-

resentation to populous areas. The special session had been called by the governor to consider calling a constitutional convention, which proposal was defeated.

In Florida a circuit court in February held that the 1955 legislature's apportionment of the House was constitutional. The Senate was not reapportioned and the House apportionment was attacked with the argument that the state constitution requires simultaneous reapportionment of both houses. A special legislative session, called last June to complete the task of reapportionment, recessed in September until June 1956.

The Illinois Supreme Court has upheld the constitutionality of the reapportionment act of 1955. The last previous reapportionment in Illinois was in 1901.

The governors of New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island have called for reapportionment of one or both houses of the legislatures.

In Oklahoma Republican leaders have sought to have a congressional redistricting proposal placed on the ballot for the July 3 primary, when it would have the status of a special election and be decided by the vote on the proposal. The plan would establish two areas that could normally be expected to be Republican instead of only one as at present. Governor Raymond Gary has indicated that he will call for a vote on the plan at the November general election.

Wisconsin Approves Two Constitutional Amendments

Four proposed constitutional amendments were voted on by the people of Wisconsin on April 3; two were approved. One of these permits the legislature, by three-fourths vote of all members, to increase pension benefits for retired teachers. It won by approximately 350,000 to 250,000. The other permits the state and municipalities to be relieved of restrictions on gifts of land if a restriction becomes impossible of observance;

Accounting Demanded on Salary Kickbacks

Former employees in the office of the Illinois secretary of state have filed suit asking for an accounting of the expenditures from the so-called "flower fund" to which, they allege, they and other employees were required "voluntarily" to donate 2 per cent of their salaries.

The former employees said that, since the "flower fund" was supposed to be used for charitable purposes, they want the information so they can deduct at least part of it in computing their income taxes.

the land may be returned or the donor may grant relief or otherwise court action may be instituted. This amendment was adopted by about 375,000 to 200,000.

One defeated amendment would have removed a two-term limitation on sheriffs; it lost by about 325,000 to 265,000. The other would have permitted public officials and candidates who are employees of a railroad or other public utility to accept free passes or services if generally granted to employees of the utility; the passes or services would not be used for official duties. The proposal lost by about 375,000 to 185,000.

Regional Conferences on State Government

The American Assembly, in collaboration with universities or individuals, is sponsoring regional conferences on state government; one for the south was held in April at Biloxi, Mississippi, in cooperation with Tulane University, and two western conferences will be held in June and August, respectively.

The Pacific Northwest Conference on State Government will be held in Spo-

kane, Washington, June 21-24, for the four northwestern states. Sponsoring authority rests with Harold Sheffelman and Ewen C. Dingwall as well as with the assembly. The California Conference on State Government is tentatively scheduled for August 16-19 at Stanford University, a co-sponsor. *The Forty-eight States*, recently issued by the assembly, will be used in part as a basis of discussion.¹

Colorado to Vote on Three Amendments

The Colorado legislature placed three proposed constitutional amendments on the ballot for November 1956: to provide four-year terms for the governor and other elective state officers; to exempt household goods from property taxation; and to modify state civil service provisions.

Legislative Service Agencies to Meet in Seattle

The National Legislative Conference (formerly the National Association of Legislative Service Agencies) will meet in Seattle, August 29-September 1, with the state of Washington as host. A number of broad questions in the field of legislative structure, procedures and services will be discussed on the first day by small groups and the conclusions of the separate groups will be summarized and reported to the whole conference. There will also be workshops for specialized groups and general sessions for all members.

California Legislators Hold Pre-session Conference

The first Orientation Conference for members of the California State Assembly was held under the sponsorship of the Assembly Committee on Rules, March 2

¹ See the REVIEW, November 1955, page 504.

and 3, just prior to the convening of the 1956 budgetary session. It featured leaders and key employees of the legislature, heads of legislative staff agencies and representatives of the University of California, the State Library and the press. Copies of the remarks of the program were bound and distributed to the legislators.

Georgia Legislature Improves Procedures

The number of standing committees in the Georgia Senate was reduced from 38 to 16 early this year. The Senate acted on recommendations made by an interim committee created at the last session. The new rules provide that no senator may serve on less than three nor more than four committees, or as chairman or vice chairman of more than one. Committees range in size from five members to fifteen.

The Georgia House of Representatives installed a public address system and a rented electric roll-call system for use at the recent session.

Minnesota Reorganization Act Held Unconstitutional

The 1955 reorganization act of Minnesota, which included provision for the creation of a legislative audit bureau and the office of auditor general, was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in January.

Court Invalidates Two Philadelphia Amendments

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court on April 20 held that two proposed amendments to the Philadelphia charter,¹ which were to have been voted upon by Philadelphians at the April 24 primary, were improperly presented and would also

violate the constitutional ban on granting special immunities. They would have exempted from the merit system some 600 employees in certain city offices, while leaving the employees of other offices in the merit system.

A third amendment, to permit an elected official to retain his position while campaigning for another one, remained subject to vote. It lost, 55,980 to 34,692.

Increase in Public Employment, 1955 vs. 1954

A report of the Bureau of the Census, *State Distribution of Public Employment in 1955*, gives comparisons of public employment and payrolls for October 1955 compared with October of preceding years. There were 7,432,000 civilian public employees in October 1955 and 7,232,000 one year before; this is an increase of 2.8 per cent. Corresponding monthly payrolls were \$2,264,500,000 and \$2,103,100,000, an increase of 7.7 per cent. In the one-year interval federal civilian employees increased from 2,373,000 to 2,378,000, state employees from 1,198,000 to 1,250,000 and local employees from 3,661,000 to 3,804,000. The related payrolls increased as follows: federal, \$784,800,000 to \$845,700,000; state, \$314,600,000 to \$340,400,000; local, \$1,003,600,000 to \$1,078,400,000.

Local employees in October 1955 are divided into 1,436,000, city; 597,000, county; 1,455,000, school district; and 315,000, township and special district.

A report on *City Employment in 1955* gives the number of employees of municipal governments as 1,436,000 in October 1955 and 1,420,000 a year before, an increase of 1 per cent, and their payrolls as \$413,500,000 and \$396,200,000, respectively, an increase of 4 per cent. With the number of part-time employees (218,000) converted to the full-time equivalent, the total for October 1955 would be 1,262,000.

¹ See the REVIEW, April 1956, page 181.

County and Township

Edited by William N. Cassella, Jr.,
and Victor Jones

Birmingham Area Problems Studied

Jefferson County Needs Reviewed in Two Surveys

PERHAPS the most distinctive trend in the south in the twentieth century has been an accelerated pace of urbanization that has led to an emphatic development of metropolitan districts. One of the largest of these is the Birmingham-Jefferson County area, a community of almost 600,000 persons in north-central Alabama.

A comparatively recent urban development, dating only from the reconstruction era and erected originally on an iron-coal economy, the growth of Birmingham and its metropolitan district has been little short of spectacular in the twentieth century. Since 1900, while the New Orleans area was increasing in population 123 per cent, the Memphis area 214 per cent, and the Atlanta area 311 per cent, the population of the Birmingham standard metropolitan district (Jefferson County) grew by 298 per cent. Though this area will continue to expand in population for some years to come, the prospect now is that the rate of growth will diminish.

Significant steps have been taken in recent years to close governmental and institutional gaps that have appeared in the political and community seams of this expanding area. Among several pertinent studies, two deserve special mention because both recognize the essential unity of the metropolitan problem of government or of the services government provides.

The first of these studies was a survey of government in the metropolitan area, made under 1945 legislation creating the Legislative Advisory Commission for the

Jefferson County Survey to study and report to the Alabama legislature on certain local government problems. As a result of this study, the advisory commission in 1947 recommended to the legislature that the corporate limits of the city of Birmingham be expanded substantially; that the governments of Jefferson County and Birmingham, with its extended limits, be consolidated; that the school systems of the city and county be consolidated; and that the Bessemer division of Jefferson County continue without change. The pattern of the 1947 recommendations thus was the familiar one of an over-all approach to the problems engendered by a metropolitan population rapidly spilling out over adjacent areas.¹

The immediate results of these recommendations were discouraging. Constitutional amendments which would have facilitated city-county consolidation were defeated. The number of governmental units in the area was not decreased. Suburban towns voted against annexation to Birmingham but a substantial unincorporated area was annexed. However, the participation by the broadly representative membership of the advisory commission, its near-unanimous agreement on recommendations, as well as the increased understanding of problems of Birmingham and Jefferson County, constituted a genuine contribution to community progress and was a stimulus to further inquiry.

At the time these recommendations were made, interest was rising from another angle. The various welfare agencies

¹ Weldon Cooper, *Metropolitan County: A Survey of Government in the Birmingham Area*. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1949, 165 pages; Roscoe C. Martin, "City-County Merger Proposed," the REVIEW, July 1947, pages 367-370.

in Birmingham-Jefferson County, public and private, were concerned that their work within the metropolitan area might be better coordinated and expanded, and that all the agencies affecting social forces might make a greater impact upon the area.

The Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces had been organized in 1938, but not until 1947 did it function on a full-time basis with its own staff. By 1948 there were 85 organization members and 200 individual members. Administrative assistance for the council's full-time operation was given by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. Recommendations submitted by the bureau in its report, *A Community Welfare Council for Metropolitan Birmingham* (1947), stressed the essentially metropolitan nature of the council:

The geographical scope of the council should be all of Jefferson County. . . . The council of Metropolitan Birmingham should perform the central services and do the welfare planning for the entire area.

The purposes of the council should be, first, to conduct common service functions for the social agencies of the area; second, to plan and to coordinate the existing welfare activities of the community; and, third, to provide the leadership necessary to develop an overall social service program by helping fill the gaps and face the unmet welfare needs of the metropolitan community.

These purposes the Jefferson County Coordinating Council has sought to meet on a metropolitan basis.

Its most recent published effort is an impressive survey of health, welfare and recreation needs and services in Jefferson County.² This survey had its inception

some four years ago when several citizens under the leadership of Charles F. Zukoski, Jr., came to the Coordinating Council and suggested that the time was appropriate for a complete survey of the area's social needs and agencies. The impetus thus was given to: (1) Formation of The Citizens Committee of the Jefferson County Survey, consisting of some 32 men and women appointed by the council; (2) the enlistment of 71 public and private health, welfare and recreation agencies; (3) the securing of financial support principally from the Robert R. Meyer Foundation; and (4) the employment of a professional survey staff and expert consultants. Significantly, over the three-year period of the study, local agencies participated actively, both in making suggestions and in implementing recommendations.

Detailed Survey Made

The functional needs and services in health, welfare and recreation were surveyed in detail. Recommendations for improvement in both public and private services were presented with unusual thoroughness and included specific suggestions as to how the major recommendations were to be implemented.

The programs of the county health and welfare departments were examined and detailed proposals were made for expanding and improving their services. Also included were various suggestions for administrative reorganization. Better organization, management and planning of the public recreation program was called for. Similarly, the programs and organization of private agencies were appraised and ways and means for filling gaps and correcting weaknesses were advocated.

The survey report suggested fulfillment

² Valerie A. Earle (director), *The Jefferson County Survey of Health, Welfare and Recreation Needs and Services: A Report of a Community Self-Study Prepared by a Citizens Committee of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces*. University of Alabama

Press, 1955, 368 pages. Also see Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces, *The Jefferson County Survey on Health, Welfare and Recreation, Summary Report*. Birmingham, 1955, 65 pp. (See REVIEW, February 1956, p. 96.)

of several conditions which would permit health, recreation and welfare agencies to operate more effectively. Among these were higher standards of professional employment, assumption by agency governing boards of true responsibility, use of volunteer as well as professional staff, improved management and financial techniques and, importantly, inter-agency co-operation.

The need for additional financial support for these services was recognized. The survey looked to three sources of increased financing: (1) More state assistance on the basis of a proposed revision in the state's formula for distribution of revenues to local governments; (2) \$200,000 more annually from private contributions to the Community Chest and through foundations and churches; (3) an additional \$300,000 annually by a new county-wide tax levy of half of one mill (50 cents per \$1,000 of assessed value). This levy would require authorization by constitutional amendment and approval by the voters of Jefferson County.

New Board Recommended

The survey recommended that the money from the new tax be appropriated by a majority vote of a new board of health, welfare and recreation commissioners. This body would be created by act of the legislature and consist of two members appointed by the commission of Birmingham, one by the Jefferson County commission, one by the majority vote of the chief executives of the seven largest Jefferson County municipalities excluding Birmingham, and three ex officio members representing the Community Chest, the Coordinating Council and the Red Cross.

In the survey's summary report the role of the new commission is defined:

The commission would review the requests of public agencies and would determine the allocation of available funds for the purpose of supplementing revenues from other sources, not for

the purpose of relieving public or private bodies of their present responsibilities.

Whether or not the confusion in purpose here suggested can be avoided in practice is a question which will undoubtedly be given further attention as the required legal hurdles of constitutional amendment, etc., are cleared.

Where does metropolitan government in the Birmingham-Jefferson County area stand today after these two studies? The 1947 proposal for over-all structural reform seems at first glance to have borne little fruit. Its long-run positive effects, though substantial, are difficult to appraise.

The 1955 study, approaching the metropolitan problem from a narrower functional segment, is too recent to evaluate accurately in terms of effectiveness. Certainly, it offers hope for improved functional performance and coordination.

After noting the defeat of the constitutional amendments needed to facilitate the 1947 survey recommendations, Professor Roscoe C. Martin, executive secretary of the Legislative Advisory Commission for the Jefferson County Survey, made this comment:

It is fair to conclude that the people, given the facts, will accept sound proposals looking to the solution of the many and complex problems of the modern metropolis. That leaders will arise in the years to come who will give effective sponsorship to such proposals is not to be doubted.

From the community self-survey of health, welfare and recreation, spanning some three years, new leaders will surely emerge. The concluding section of the survey report noted:

The citizens committee of the survey believe that the prime achievement to date is the accumulation of knowledge of the community which it has brought about, and the number of people—lay persons and professional persons—to whom this information has been disseminated. A very large number of Jefferson County citizens—persons with

different interests, different points of view, different backgrounds—have been drawn into the work of the survey. Many of them have become more interested than they previously were in the adequacy of social services available in the Jefferson County community; many of them now know more than they previously did about the ways in which these services can be made more effective.

If the 1955 survey accomplishes no more in solving the functional problems to which it is addressed, the conduct of the survey, the preparation of the survey report, and the very existence of its sponsoring council and supporting citizens groups demonstrates an important leadership force and a remarkable vitality in community action. There is evidence in the 1955 survey of the continuing influence of the 1947 study.

As the Birmingham-Jefferson County metropolitan area grows, as old problems intensify and new ones appear, a broadening and increasingly effective integration of efforts for their solution will come. The significance of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces and its program may well lie in this direction.

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County Library Systems Benefit Small Branches

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The note below is made up of excerpts from an article, "County Library Systems Benefit Small Libraries," by JEAN L. CONNOR, library consultant to the Library Extension Division, State Library, Albany, New York. It appeared in the January 1956 issue of *Town and County Topics*, published by the Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York, in cooperation with the Association of Towns and the County Officers Association.

The small public library is taking a new lease on life in a new pattern of public library service emerging in New York State. Library service systems, based on

a federation of local libraries in one or more counties, are bringing better library service to thousands. These federated county systems provide for all the people, regardless of the size of their home community, the benefits of large, varied book collections and the guidance of professional librarians in the development of library programs. Faced with problems of inadequate book resources and lack of trained personnel to provide modern library service, libraries are experimenting in new avenues of cooperation. In Clinton and Essex Counties 21 libraries are participating in a federated system. Wayne, Livingston and Monroe Counties have plans for a three-county system serving 31 libraries.

In these federated county library systems, local control and local finance are retained. The member libraries continue to be administered through their own board of trustees. They continue to receive their financial support from local sources and to budget their money as they deem best. Book selection remains a matter of local policy and decision. Staff continue to be appointed locally. Services designed to strengthen local library service are provided free of charge to the participating libraries by a central service agency, the county library.

The services of the county library are financed largely by state aid and through nominal county support. The federation is bound together by a series of annual contracts between the county system and the community library. The county library is administered through a county board of trustees appointed by the county board of supervisors.

The cooperative library service through county library systems is achieving notable results. Readers are using their libraries more now than the local libraries are better able to meet their varied demands. Since its inception in 1952, use of the libraries in the Monroe County library system has increased over 15 per

cent. This system is a federation of fourteen independent libraries, the largest of which is the Rochester Public Library. The smallest is the Penfield Free Library, located in a community of one thousand. The greatest gains have been made by the town and village libraries, where library use has increased 32 per cent since 1952.

Morris County, N. J., Launches Unique Park Program

The Regional Plan Association, Inc., of New York, reports that:

"New standards and ideals for public recreation are in process of development in Morris County, New Jersey, which, if brought to ultimate realization, will place that county among the leaders in this field.

"Although Morris is one of the counties on the outer fringes of the metropolitan region, it has been experiencing sufficient urban growth to arouse concern. In 1954 the county planning board was equipped with a full-time director and staff. One of the first concerns of the planning board staff was the need for saving some of the fast-disappearing open space for parks. The board proposed the establishment of a county park commission, similar to those already existing in other counties.

"In the general elections of November 1955 the appointment of a county park commission was approved, along with authorization for a bond issue to obtain funds to purchase park land and develop it.

"Among outstanding interesting features in the broad program of park development drafted by the planning board and passed on to the Park Commission are the following:

"1. To connect the larger parks with

strip parks so as to establish an interconnected system of state, county and municipal parks;

"2. To create green belts around larger concentrations of population in the county by relating the parks to large institutional land uses, existing parks and such topographic features as swamps, mountainous areas, etc.;

"3. To work out a plan of multiple use, such as tying park areas to a program of flood control, prevention of water pollution, protection of watershed areas, wild life conservation, preservation of historic sites, etc.

"The long-range goal of the county park program is to provide a county park system of about 7,000 acres. The average size of a county park would be 200 acres or larger. The present program calls for an initial emphasis on land acquisition rather than park development, but some immediate development is proposed in order to provide some park areas for immediate use."

Governor Vetoes Charter for Suffolk County, N. Y.

A proposed charter providing an appointed executive for Suffolk County, suburban to New York City,¹ was vetoed April 22 by Governor Averell Harriman on the grounds that it contained a number of defects. The bill provided that the proposed charter be submitted to popular vote in November. It had been approved by the county's board of supervisors, largely Republican, and had been favorably received by a number of authorities on county reorganization. The Democratic minority in the county were opposed to the charter.

¹ See the REVIEW, April 1956, page 183.

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.,
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)*

Australian Senate Chosen by P. R.

House Members Elected by Single Transferable Vote

ALMOST five million voters cast ballots under the Hare system of proportional representation at elections for the Senate of Australia on December 10, 1955. Both as to number of votes recorded and area covered by the elections, this usage of P.R. is the largest application of the Hare system so far in the world. Held simultaneously were contests to choose members of the Australian House of Representatives, which is elected by means of the single transferable vote system of majority preferential voting from single-member districts.¹ The Senate election was the fourth since P.R. was adopted for that body in 1948. Preferential voting for the House has been in effect since 1918.

Contrasts between the operation of the two systems were telling, even though the electorate, the provisions for electoral administration and the contesting parties were practically identical. One vivid distinction was the difference in voting effectiveness as noted in Table I. Under the single-member system for the House only 57.4 per cent of the voters cast first preferences for winning candidates, whereas in voting by P.R. for the Senate, 92.5 per cent cast first choices for winners.

If one believes that an electoral system should reflect the will of the voters as expressed by the choices marked on their ballots, this comparison of voting effective-

ness is the most important information to be sought from a study of election returns. While Table II shows that the percentages for votes and seats for the major parties are roughly in the same proportion for both houses when considered from nation-wide figures, considerable distortion exists as to the House within several of the states. Satisfaction with the returns for the House, even from a strictly party point of view, can come only if one believes that the ineffective votes of one party in an election district or state are "cancelled" because corresponding votes of the opposing party are ineffective in other districts or states.

The general balloting features of the Senate election resembled those of the last Senate election in 1953,² including the compulsory numbering of all preferences; the grouping of names on the ballot according to party, with the position of the party group being determined by lot; the use by the parties of "how-to-vote" cards to advise voters of the party's recommendation of preference numbers for all candidates; and the limitation by the parties (with one exception to be noted later) of nominees to the maximum number which they can expect to elect.

Most of these features are direct carry-overs from the former system of majority preferential voting. It will be interesting to observe whether a continued experience with P.R., with its inherent differences from the system it replaced, will alter some features of voting for the Senate which developed during the period (1919-1948) when multiple preferential voting (election of members at large from each state by majority preferential voting) was in force.

Some evidence of change has been ap-

¹ Hare system applied to the election of one.

² See the REVIEW, July 1953, page 355.

parent since the first P.R. election for the Senate in 1949. For example, in 1953 a candidate who was listed No. 4 on the Labor ticket in Tasmania would have had no chance of being elected if the party's voting directions, as indicated on its how-to-vote card, had been observed. However, utilizing the freedom of selection inherent in the Hare system, this candidate campaigned for No. 1 votes for himself and was elected.

In the recent election the Labor party in Tasmania made no attempt through the use of numbered how-to-vote cards to direct the voters to rate their choices in a prescribed order. The Liberal party in Tasmania nominated five candidates for this Senate contest although it could not expect to elect more than three; besides, the party did not prescribe any order for rating the preferences for these candidates. If the party-ticket numbering, characteristic of the mainland states and the period of the old Senate system, had been followed in Tasmania, the Liberal party candidate listed No. 5, Senator Wardlaw, who was elected as the third Liberal candidate, would have had no hope of being elected.

Voter vs. Party

An example of how the free selection of the Hare system can enable a group of voters, if sufficiently large, to veto decisions made by party management without voting for opposition candidates was seen in the state of Western Australia in the recent Senate election. An incumbent of the Liberal party, Senator Robertson, was denied reendorsement by party management on the grounds that she, then 73, was too old. Without her party's endorsement, under the former block-preferential system she would have had no hope whatever of reelection. However, she obtained endorsement from the small Country party in her state and was elected, as a consequence of P.R., as the fifth senator from the state. As the

Country party is allied with the Liberal party, Senator Robertson can generally be expected to support the government. In her election the government therefore did not lose the Senate vote which her seat represents, but the incident shows that the voters can be better judges of a candidate's appeal than party managers. Under the Hare system the voter can express preferences among nominees without jeopardizing support for the party he prefers.

For 112 contested vacancies for the House of Representatives there were 302 nominations, or 2.7 candidates per seat. As 78 candidates were nominated for 30 vacant seats in the Senate, the average number of Senate candidates was 2.6 per vacancy. Because of single-member districts for the House elections, the range of choice of nominees on the ballot was on the average 2.7 candidates. In contrast, the 78 candidates for the six statewide electorates for the Senate meant an average range of choice on the ballot of thirteen candidates. However, this greater range of choice is not appreciated by all the electorate, especially in view of the somewhat onerous requirement of compulsory marking of all preferences.

The government parties, as noted in Table II, won a majority of seats in both houses. The other major party, Labor, which forms the opposition, obtained all other seats, except one in the Senate won by a candidate of a newly formed minor party called the Anti-Communist Labor party, which broke away from the Australian Labor party last year following much acrimonious dissension. The Anti-Communist Labor party ran candidates for the House in three states and for the Senate in four. None of its candidates for the House was elected, although two came close to winning; its one successful nominee for the Senate, aided by a favored position on the ballot, came from the state of Victoria, where the breakaway movement originated and is

supported by a sizeable section of the electorate.

It is worth observing that in the state elections in Tasmania early last year, after the split in the Labor party had commenced on the mainland, the Labor party in Tasmania was reelected to office with an increased vote in each electoral district. As a consequence of the Hare system and its multi-member electorates, candidates favorable to both sides in the party's factional struggle were nominated and elected. The integrating influence of multi-member electorates under the Hare system was one reason

that factional disruption was averted in Tasmania at that time.

Since then, in parliamentary elections on the mainland, where single-member electorates are in use except for the Senate, the Labor party has been torn asunder by the factional split. In the Victorian state elections in May 1955 the Labor party, then governing, was overwhelmingly routed. On the federal level the party in the December 10, 1955, elections was severely cut in parliamentary strength. With freedom for electors to choose candidates within parties as well as between parties it is reasonable to ex-

TABLE I
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, DECEMBER 10, 1955^a
Comparison of Voting Effectiveness for Senate and House of Representatives
(On Basis of First Preference Votes)^b

States	SENATE (P.R.) ^c		HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (Majority Preferential Voting) ^d		No. of Seats ^e
	<i>Votes Received by Winning Candidates</i>	<i>Votes Received by Losing Candidates</i>	<i>Votes Received by Winning Candidates</i>	<i>Votes Received by Losing Candidates</i>	
New South Wales	1,596,248 92.0%	138,015 8.0%	1,014,467 60.1%	673,425 39.9%	42
Victoria	1,132,156 95.9%	48,998 4.1%	715,833 53.8%	613,496 46.2%	33
Queensland	643,809 94.5%	37,564 5.5%	338,390 54.9%	277,396 45.1%	16
South Australia	364,096 89.9%	40,929 10.1%	267,000 62.6%	159,777 37.4%	11
Western Australia	269,389 91.9%	23,762 8.11%	98,144 55.9%	77,467 44.1%	5
Tasmania	101,969 69.8%	44,090 30.2%	89,922 56.2%	70,208 43.8%	5
Totals	4,107,667 92.5%	333,358 7.5%	2,523,756 57.4%	1,871,769 42.6%	112

^a Elections for Senate and House of Representatives held simultaneously.

^b Computations for all tables based on final figures provided by the commonwealth electoral officers for the six states.

^c Hare system of P.R. to choose five Senators at large from each state. The states have ten senators each, one-half chosen every third year for a term of six years.

^d The single transferable system of majority preferential voting with single-member districts apportioned on basis of population.

^e Represents contested seats only; ten seats were uncontested (four, New South Wales; two, Queensland; four, Western Australia), making a total of 122 in House. Fact of some uncontested seats for House accounts for differences in total votes for House and Senate elections. There were no uncontested seats for the Senate.

TABLE II
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, DECEMBER 10, 1955
Comparison of Votes and Seats Received, Totals and Percentages
(On Basis of First Preference Votes)*
SENATE
(P.R.)

States	Labor Party		Liberal & Country Parties ^b		Anti-Communist Labor Party		Others ^c	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
New South Wales	760,039 43.8%	2 40.0%	840,718 48.5%	3 60.0%	—	—	133,506 7.7%	—
Victoria	413,177 35.0%	2 40.0%	537,631 45.5%	2 40.0%	209,875 17.8%	1 20.0%	20,471 1.7%	—
Queensland	282,572 41.5%	2 40.0%	370,529 54.4%	3 60.0%	—	—	28,272 4.1%	—
South Australia	176,323 43.5%	2 40.0%	189,512 46.8%	3 60.0%	35,098 8.7%	—	4,092 1.0%	—
Western Australia	115,367 39.4%	2 40.0%	158,294 54.0%	3 60.0%	10,077 3.4%	—	9,413 3.2%	—
Tasmania	55,857 38.2%	2 40.0%	64,776 44.4%	3 60.0%	16,017 11.0%	—	9,409 6.4%	—
Totals ^d	1,803,335 ^e 40.6%	12 40.0%	2,161,460 ^e 48.7%	17 56.7%	271,067 6.1%	1 3.3%	205,163 4.6%	—

^a See footnote b, Table I.

^b Although maintaining separate party identities and organizations, the Liberal and Country parties form a joint government when in office and a joint opposition when out of office.

^c "Others" include three minor parties, of which the Communist party is the largest, and independent candidates.

^d Totals are provided for sake of summarization, although percentages on a nation-wide basis are not necessarily meaningful since each state is given the same number of senators, regardless of differences in population.

^e If totals and percentages of votes of this table were calculated on figures after the last transfer rather than on first preferences, the votes for major parties would be increased slightly and those for minor parties reduced or eliminated.

TABLE II (Continued)
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
(Majority Preferential Voting)

States	Labor Party		Liberal & Country Parties		Anti-Communist Labor Party		Others	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
New South Wales	836,592 49.5%	21 50.0%	797,724 47.3%	21 50.0%	—	—	53,576 3.2%	—
Victoria	493,509 37.1%	10 30.3%	622,862 46.9%	23 69.7%	209,678 15.8%	—	3,280 2%	—
Queensland	258,994 42.1%	5 31.2%	325,215 52.8%	11 68.8%	—	—	31,577 5.1%	—
South Australia	208,310 48.8%	6 54.6%	197,060 46.2%	5 45.4%	11,225 2.6%	—	10,182 2.4%	—
Western Australia	91,151 51.9%	3 60.0%	72,385 41.2%	2 40.0%	—	—	12,075 6.9%	—
Tasmania	73,273 45.8%	2 40.0%	78,874 49.1%	3 60.0%	6,180 3.9%	—	2,003 1.2%	—
Totals ^d	1,961,829 ^a 44.6%	47 42.0%	2,091,920 ^a 47.6%	65 ^e 58.0%	227,083 5.2%	—	112,693 2.6%	—

^a If totals and percentages of votes of this table were calculated on figures after the last transfer rather than on first preferences, the votes for major parties would be increased slightly and those for minor parties reduced or eliminated.

^c Comparison between nation-wide totals for House and Senate in terms of votes and seats for parties is not necessarily meaningful since representation in the House varies according to size of population whereas an equal number of senators is assigned to each state regardless of population differences.

^d This represents contested seats only. Including ten candidates elected unopposed, the government obtained 75 of 122 seats in the House, or 61.5 per cent.

pect that factional fights will be reduced in severity or largely averted since a major cause for their creation is eliminated by the broad opportunity of selection possible under the Hare system of P.R.

Following the election there was much ignorant discussion of the Senate result, many newspaper writers and politicians asserting that "proportional representation had caused too even a balance" between the parties, making government unworkable. Comments of this kind were reiterated for weeks, notwithstanding the plain fact that the government had won seventeen seats to the opposition's twelve and the new party's one. The government parties won three of the five seats in every state but Victoria, where they won two.

The government, however, will have only 30 of the 60 Senate seats because, when the other half of the Senate was elected in 1953, it lost almost as decisively as it won this time.³ In both elections P.R. gave decisive majorities, but sufficient numbers of holdover members from the other party remained to offset the newly elected majority. The constitutional provision for staggered terms of office for the Senate in short obviously deserves the blame which is erroneously directed at P.R.

The alteration which is likely to be considered, however, is not to eliminate the staggered terms but to curtail the powers of the Senate. In any case, as the senators are now acquainted with the fairness and stability of the P.R. system of election, it seems unlikely that they would agree to a return to the vagaries and drastic fluctuations of the former system. Acceptance of any plurality method would appear in the minds of most Aus-

tralians to be so retrograde a step that it would probably not seriously be proposed.

As noted in the report on the 1953 Senate elections² the count is conducted on a decentralized basis within each state under the direction of the commonwealth electoral officer for that state, who communicates by telephone and telegraph with the returning officers who handle the ballots for the electoral divisions under their charge.

Absentee Voting

The chief delay in obtaining final election results is caused by the extremely generous provisions for absentee and postal voting which permit Australians to cast ballots while overseas, outside their own states, or at polling stations in electoral districts other than the one for which they are enrolled. The average time required from the beginning of the distribution of preferences until the end of the count was three and one half days; the shortest time reported to the writer was in Western Australia, which took two days, and the longest was in New South Wales, the most populous state, which cast almost 40 per cent of the total national vote and required seven working days to complete the count.

Although the powers of the Senate in Australia are much less than those of the House of Representatives, the existence of P.R. for this nevertheless important usage is bound to have some discernible influence in altering prevailing electoral practices in Australia. Because ramifications of its use for the Senate have not yet taken on a settled pattern, developments of considerable interest are likely to take place in the future.

GEORGE HOWATT, *Fulbright Scholar*
From University of Pennsylvania to
University of Melbourne

³ See footnote (c) for Table I.

State-local Loans Hit All-time High

One and a Half Billions for First Quarter 1956

NEW borrowing by state and local governmental units in the first three months of 1956 exceeded one and a half billion dollars, a new record for the first quarter of any calendar year, and 6.6 per cent above the first quarter of 1955. Significantly, however, the sharp increase over the prior year's period was due entirely to a 50.9 per cent increase in the issuance of revenue bonds. There was an accompanying 10.5 per cent drop in new bonds issued by local housing authorities, and all other bonds were down 4.2 per cent.

In dollar amounts, revenue bonds issued the first three months of this year totaled roundly \$433,000,000, compared with \$287,000,000 in the comparable period in 1955. Housing authority bonds were down to \$107,000,000 from \$119,000,000 last year, and all other bonds were \$960,000,000 compared with \$1,002,000,000. The all-other category, while it includes bonds payable from limited or dedicated revenues and from special assessments, is predominantly represented by the so-called general obligation or full faith and credit obligations of the issuing states or local units.

The first quarter experience, based on data compiled and published by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, industry publication of the municipal bond business, suggests that total state-local financing this year may come close to the 1955 total, which was the second highest on record. With general obligation bond financing running below that of 1955 in the first three months, however, it seems unlikely that

the 1955 full year total will be much exceeded. This is because there are no very large revenue bond financing undertakings in prospect for the balance of the year, and revenue bonds, particularly for toll roads, have been a major factor in raising annual totals to their high levels in both 1954 and 1955.

State-local long-term financing first broke above the four-billion-dollar level in 1952, when revenue bond financing increased to just under \$1,500,000,000, new housing authority bond issues aggregated \$358,000,000, and other new bonds were just short of \$2,600,000,000. In 1953 revenue bond issues increased moderately to nearly \$1,600,000,000, housing borrowing exceeded \$499,000,000 and other new issues jumped to nearly \$3,500,000,000 to carry the year's total to \$5,600,000,000.

The lid was blown off in 1954, so to speak, with new revenue bond issues that year rising to \$3,200,000,000 as a result of large-scale toll highway financing. Housing bond issues dropped to \$375,000,000, and other new bond issues dipped fractionally to \$3,400,000,000. The total for the year was just short of seven billion dollars.

Last year revenue bond financing dropped by nearly half compared with 1954, to the \$1,700,000,000 level. Housing authority issues increased to \$502,000,000, however, and other new state-local issues rose to \$3,700,000,000. This held the decline to roundly one billion dollars compared with 1954, and 1955 new issues in total were just under six billion dollars.

The 1956 new bond issues through the first three months were without benefit of any single issues in the hundreds of millions category such as contributed to the high levels in 1955 and 1954. In 1955, largest single issue had been \$415,000,000 revenue bonds for the Illinois state toll

highway commission. This year's largest new issue was \$100,000,000 revenue bonds for the Connecticut state expressway. Second largest was \$50,000,000 for the New York State Thruway, payable from tolls but guaranteed by the state. Other large revenue bond issues were for water and power, led by \$32,000,000 of revenue bonds of the Chelan County, Washington, public utility district, and \$24,000,000 electric revenue bonds of Los Angeles. Other sizeable new issues in the 1956 period included \$40,000,000 Los Angeles general improvement bonds, \$30,000,000 California school aid bonds, and \$28,500,000 Denver school district bonds.

Voters Replenish Backlog

While only part of the new state-local borrowing requires voter approval, and there is a backlog of unknown proportions representing bonds authorized in earlier years but not yet issued, the voters in the first three months of 1956 passed on, and approved, a larger volume of authorizations than in the 1955 period. The volume of bonds approved more than doubled, in fact, rising from \$291,000,000 in the first quarter last year to \$605,000,000 the first three months of 1956. At the same time, issues defeated rose by 27.2 per cent, from \$58,000,000 in the 1955 period to \$73,000,000 in the 1956 period.

Large authorizations approved in the first quarter of 1956 included \$75,000,000 Missouri state bonds, \$41,000,000 improvement bonds of Dallas, Texas, \$29,000,000 improvement bonds of Long Beach, California, and \$25,000,000 water revenue bonds of Kansas City, Missouri. Significantly, toll highway financing is not in immediate prospect for any really sizeable amounts, influenced by a slowing down in project design following unfavorable early experience with traffic, particularly truck traffic, on the West Virginia and Ohio turnpikes, where traffic volume has not measured up to advance estimates.

The large-scale borrowing in the first part of the year, combined with a continued federal reserve board policy of tightening up on the supply of money and credit, has resulted in a marked upturn of state-local borrowing costs, although not to the peak levels prevailing in 1953.

The Daily Bond Buyer's index of yield on twenty representative state and local bond issues (which moves inversely with the price of the bonds) stood at 2.66 per cent the first week in April 1956, compared with 2.42 per cent a year earlier. In 1955 the range had been between a low of 2.37 per cent and a high of 2.63 per cent, with the trend upward as the year closed. In 1954 the extremes had been 2.26 per cent and 2.54 per cent and, in 1953, 2.40 per cent and 3.09 per cent. These figures contrasted with extremes of 2.03 per cent and 2.39 per cent in 1952, and an all-time low in February 1946 of 1.29 per cent. (The all-time high was in May 1933—5.69 per cent.)

The bond issues used in constructing the index of yield are all general obligations, it may be noted, and have maturities of close to twenty years. Moreover, all are names rather actively traded in the bond markets. Consequently, the twenty-bond index trend does not provide an exact measure of the increase in borrowing costs generally. Normally, infrequent borrowers may expect to pay more for their money than do borrowers for whose obligations there is an established, ready market, and borrowers issuing revenue bonds and other limited obligations generally pay more than they would if general property taxes were additionally pledged. Finally, the term of the debt and the credit standing of the borrower play a part in the cost of borrowing by state and local agencies, just as they do in the case of individuals or business concerns.

All these differentials tend to become more pronounced as interest yields in-

crease, and there have been numerous instances of general obligation bond issues by infrequent borrowers where the interest cost for 20- to 25-year bonds has been close to or in excess of 3 per cent per annum, while good grade revenue bonds of established enterprises are earning close to 3 per cent for holders of the 20- to 25-year maturities.

The recent rise in interest costs has resulted in a marked increase in the number of bid rejections by local units and in some postponements. There have been a few announcements of indefinite postponements of projects because of financing costs, mainly in connection with marginal situations where revenue bonds were to be used. It is evident, however, that state-local borrowing costs remain "reasonable" by and large, particularly when contrasted with rates charged by banks to their "prime" customers, which now exceed 4 per cent per annum.

A FLOOD PREVENTION PLAN

(Continued from page 217)

is going on under the banner, "Keep the Wolf from Your Door." But floods aren't the only problem being attacked. The municipal water supply of Memphis comes from deep wells. To increase the insoak of water into the soil, bus loads of Memphis Boy Scouts went out to plant seedlings all over the watershed. Business and civic clubs from Memphis and the surrounding area banded together to halt pollution of the Wolf, and sportsmen's groups pitched in to clean the river of snags and obstructions. Today you can swim in many parts of the Wolf

which were formerly silted; recreational boating goes on 150 miles upriver; and the state has planned to buy land around one of the retention dams for a public park.

Under PL 566, city and rural people in any watershed can help themselves. Your state conservationist in the state capital or the Soil Conservation District in your county can show you how to apply for aid. You'll need a local sponsoring organization with legal powers, such as a soil conservation or flood control district, or even a county government. The sponsor must agree to share costs on the project, to maintain the SCS dams, to handle all contracting. Agreements must be obtained from owners of at least half the land to carry on soil conservation programs. Public Law 566 is an uncomplicated piece of legal machinery that makes it possible for communities across the nation to reap the benefits of upstream flood prevention.

More than a thousand cities and towns last summer had water shortages. Yet right now water that should be held on the land to soak into the vast underground reservoirs is washing off our farm lands, causing damaging floods and finally dumping into the oceans. When you start a program to catch the raindrops where they fall, you've subtracted water from a potential flood — and put it to good use in your community.

Students Lack Political Know-how

Have Little Knowledge of Public Officials

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below was published originally in *Frontier* magazine for December 15, 1955. It is reprinted here as it appeared, somewhat abridged, in the March 1956 *Bulletin* of the Citizenship Clearing House (affiliated with the Law Center of New York University). Author of the article is HENRY A. TURNER, assistant professor of political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara College.

HOW much do college students of today—the community, state and national leaders of tomorrow—know about public affairs? In an effort to provide at least a partial answer, a survey was undertaken last May [1955] of the political interest and opinion of 1,550 undergraduate students at the University of California, Santa Barbara College.

In general the procedures used followed the methods of nationally known polling organizations, and the "sample" of students polled was determined by the quota sampling technique.

On the national level the students were asked to identify their congressman, senators and the secretaries of state and commerce. If they were able to name four or five, they were considered well informed; two or three, average informed; one or less, poorly informed. The results show the men better informed than women students on national politics.

Table I. NATIONAL POLITICS

	Men	Women	Total
Well informed	23%	14%	18%
Average informed	56%	54%	55%
Poorly informed	21%	32%	27%

In compiling these figures it was found that the percentage of students in both the well informed and the poorly informed groups decreased from the freshman to the senior class. This indicates that their college education helped to overcome gross political ignorance but that it did not promote real political awareness.

On the state level, students were asked to name their state senators and assemblymen and the governor and lieutenant governor of California. Three or four correct answers put the student in the well informed bracket; two correct answers, in the average informed group; and one or no correct answer in the poorly informed category. It was surprising to find that 71 per cent could not name more than one of these four state officials and that 7 per cent were unable to name even the governor of California. Table II shows that the women and men students are equally poorly informed on state politics.

Table II. STATE POLITICS

	Men	Women	Total
Well informed	10%	11%	11%
Average informed	17%	19%	18%
Poorly informed	73%	70%	71%

In order to compare the relative amounts of information on the national and international levels, students were asked to name the present premier of Russia. Two of every three students were unable to answer correctly.

Table III. RUSSIAN PREMIER

	Men	Women	Total
Correct	40%	26%	32%
Incorrect	60%	74%	68%

That these college students evidently have only a casual interest in politics is

perhaps the most surprising and noteworthy information revealed by the survey. For decades many individuals have sought explanations for the apathy of the general public toward governmental affairs. Lord James Bryce concluded that the explanation lay in the fact that with most people other fundamental interests—occupation, family, religion and intellectual or sensual enjoyments—take precedence over political matters. The academic courses, student organizations and social pleasures of college students are often their "fundamental interests" and occupy so much of their thoughts that they have little time for consideration of political issues. Furthermore, most of their college courses, while undoubtedly providing much valuable information and an excellent theoretical background in a variety of areas, fail either to stimulate their interest in politics or to provide them with the knowledge necessary for an adequate understanding of our political institutions and problems.

Informed Leaders Needed

This apparent lack of interest and knowledge in politics is especially significant in our present-day world, which is constantly becoming more complex and interdependent and in which, as President Eisenhower has remarked, the "natural process" of change "has become a cataclysmic rush."

Because of the ever-increasing acceleration with which world events are moving, the United States, now more than at any time in the past, needs leaders and citizens who are both informed and active in politics. Obviously, our college students should be impressed with the importance and necessity of their active interest and participation in political affairs. Elihu Root once said: "Politics is the practical exercise of the art of self-government. . . . The principal ground for reproach against any American should be that he is *not* a politician."

Prepare Students for Political Activity

The fall of 1956 will find the Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the Law Center of New York University, sponsoring "a single national workshop on the teaching of politics for younger political scientists," according to the organization's *Bulletin*. The Clearing House sponsored a similar project in 1955. Director of the 1956 workshop will be Professor Hugh A. Bone of the University of Washington. He will be assisted by a staff of outstanding teachers in the field of political parties. Place and time will be Bedford Springs Hotel, Bedford, Pennsylvania, August 31 to September 4.

New Clearing Houses

The *Bulletin* announces formation of two new clearing houses. One, for Illinois, is at the University of Illinois under the direction of Professor Royden Dangerfield, assisted by Professor Tom Page. It held its first conference on student participation in political party activity March 28 and 29. Topics included "Party Needs for the College Trained Worker," and "College Programs to Stimulate Political Service."

A regional clearing house, for upstate New York, is in the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, under the direction of Professor Alfred M. Cope. Professors Phillips Bradley and Roy A. Price serve with Professor Cope on an interdepartmental committee developing the program. Among initial plans are two intercollegiate mock nominating conventions scheduled for this spring.

State and regional clearing houses now number 24. Over 300 other institutions cooperate through the programs of these affiliates, whose aim is the preparation of college men and women for participation in the affairs of the major political parties.

Gifts to Parties Deductible in Minnesota

According to an article by Sam Romer, appearing in the *Democratic Digest* for August 1955, the Minnesota legislature last year passed a law allowing "John Citizen to deduct up to \$100 a year from his taxable income for political contributions." Another part of the law permits campaign expense deductions up to \$5,000 by aspirants for governor or United States senator with lesser amounts for other statewide offices and up to one-quarter of the annual salary for county and local offices. Mr. Romer reports that this is the first such law in the nation. It "is the brainchild of Byron G. Allen, a real estate dealer and farm management specialist from Detroit Lakes, Minnesota, [now Minnesota's commissioner of agriculture] who vigorously preaches the gospel of responsible politics." Mr. Allen is a founder of the Minnesota Foundation for Political Education,¹ one of whose projects is to assist young persons who want to make a career of public service.

'Civic Progress' Wakes Up St. Louis

"St. Louis Wakes Itself Up," by Avis Carlson, appearing in *Harper's Magazine* for March 1956, tells the dramatic story of the work of Civic Progress, Inc. This organization, formed in 1953, is "a small group of energetic business leaders" who "have yanked their community out of its long slide into decay." Just as Mayor Tucker, "a remarkable blend of educator and public servant," was moving into city hall, "the organization known as Civic Progress, Inc., was getting down to work." It had been "called into being by the ailing outgoing mayor, Joseph M.

Darst, and charged with studying the city's multitudinous problems and doing something to relieve them. Originally it had eight members, today it has twenty."

"Until recently St. Louis, the oldest city in the midwest, was also the most stagnant." It was termed a "decadent city."

"Today that adjective is wholly inappropriate. There are signs of activity on every hand. This month [March] a commodious new airport is being dedicated to replace the cramped quarters which long handicapped Lambert Field. Downtown, the finishing touches are being put on the new park in the Plaza project, and the city is advertising for developers to put up middle-income apartment buildings to replace the shabby slums demolished last summer. Tenants are moving into three good-sized public housing developments, and bids are being taken for the second phase of construction in these projects which will eventually total 3,000 units. Contracts are being let for the substructural work on the outgoing leg of the Interregional Highway. In South St. Louis and on the north side, pilot rehabilitation work in two 60-year-old neighborhoods is beginning to show results. At city hall, every department is watching work take shape on the drawing boards, and the plan commission is in the middle of a special block-by-block study of the trends and needs of the central business section. . . .

"One of the organization's first acts was to travel to Pittsburgh to see what had been accomplished there by the Allegheny Conference¹ of local financiers and industrialists which was set up in 1947 to guide redevelopment programs. The St. Louisans, impressed by the example, came home expecting to enlarge their membership to community-wide proportions, set up a staff and headquarters, and generally model themselves on

¹ See "Form Foundation to Educate Voters," the *REVIEW*, December 1955, page 594.

¹ See the *REVIEW*, November 1947, page 558.

the Pittsburgh Conference. Then, as they began to see what could be accomplished by a minimum of formality and a maximum of teamwork, they called a halt at twenty members and discarded the idea of an office or staff.

Informal Meetings

"The members meet once a month in the office of the president. If a member is sick or out of town, his seat is vacant. Because all the members know each other well and have similar points of view and interests, the conversation is direct, uninhibited and informal. Each member must do personally the tasks assigned to him and most action is taken by getting behind larger groups like the Symphony Society. Civic Progress itself disclaims success in any venture and avoids publicity. It does, however, retain the services of a local firm of public relations consultants, a member of which helps work out the informal agenda and serves as secretary during the meetings.

"This organization has been instrumental in such widely different projects as bringing in the Urban Land Institute to do a \$25,000 study of local land use, setting up a successful United Fund organization, and putting the St. Louis Symphony on a sound financial footing. One of its members has headed each of the special election campaigns and it has served the indispensable function of collecting enough money to finance the campaigns [for needed bond issues, earnings tax, etc.]. . . .

"Fundamentally the campaigns have been demonstrations of community mobilization on a big-city scale. The basic formula is the same as the one worked out for a small town by a country editor of my [the author] acquaintance:

"Make every last soul see the need, convince him that the proposed solution won't bear down on him too heavily tax-wise, and see to it that he gets out to vote."

Effective, Responsible Citizenship Founders' Theme

Founders' Day at Boston University, celebrated March 13, was devoted to "Effective and Responsible Citizenship." The keynote speech was given by John B. Fisher, administrative assistant to United States Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts. Said Mr. Fisher: "Politics is not a dirty word. It is a household word, because the actions of politicians affect us in our everyday life."

The three duties of the citizen, Mr. Fisher declared, are to clarify and preserve freedom and peace, provide an enduring economy and insure the excellence of our public schools. "This year," he said, "our problems, in proportion to our capacity, are no greater than those that were faced by our forefathers. We have not only an obligation but a great opportunity to combine our wisdom for solution of these problems."

A panel session was devoted to the problem of "Political Action in Greater Boston." Among those taking part were Robert C. Bergenheim, staff writer for the *Christian Science Monitor*; Augustin H. Parker, Jr., president of the Old Colony Trust Company; Representative Harold Putnam of Needham, Massachusetts; Deputy Commissioner Charles E. Downe of the Massachusetts Department of Commerce; and Professor Lawrence H. Fuchs of Brandeis University and news commentator for Radio Station WCRB.

Luncheon was addressed by President Harold C. Case of Boston University, host, and Lieutenant Governor Sumner G. Whittier of Massachusetts, a Boston University alumnus and candidate for the Republican nomination for governor.

Planning Conference Report

A comprehensive report on the National Citizens Planning Conference on Federal Government and Local Planning, held February 5-8 in Washington, D. C.,

under the auspices of the American Planning and Civic Association, appears in *Planning and Civic Comment*, published by that organization, for March 1956.

Planning and Citizens

The association, in the same issue of *Planning and Civic Comment*, reports on the various activities of citizen groups interested in planning. Here are a few highlights:

At the tenth anniversary dinner of the Greater Milwaukee Committee, its president, Edward Gerhardy, commented: "Ours is an action group. Our members are dedicated to assist in the achievement of our mutual goal of community development. . . . Our history will show that we have met many a challenging situation in the past ten years with success for the betterment of Milwaukee."

The organization's 1955 annual report includes Mr. Gerhardy's remarks in full as well as reports from the group's Civic Center Planning and Development Committee, Trafficway Committee, Lakefront Development Committee, Urban Renewal Committee, Metropolitan Problems Committee and others.

The Metropolitan Plan Association of the St. Louis Region held its 1955 annual meeting in St. Louis in November, discussing "Mobilizing Citizen Support for Coordinated Community-County-Metropolitan Advance." The aims of the association were restated at the meeting:

Extension of work of citizens' committees on the community, county and metropolitan levels, geared to a comprehensive better communities program; a federation of planning commissions of the area to secure cooperation among the rapidly increasing number of official planning and zoning bodies, with emphasis on metropolitan land use and transit planning; a Better Communities Clearing House for cooperating organizations to utilize trained leadership and other available resources and facilities in solving com-

munity problems; area-wide coordination of plans for land use, highways, transit, sanitation, housing and redevelopment; systematized community improvement activities in schools; community development research facilities in colleges; and an annual Community Progress Assembly in each community and county and for the area as a whole, recognizing meritorious community progress and citizen service.

The February *Bulletin* of the Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati contains a comprehensive progress report. It points out that the progress of the past year is the result of far more than the past year's effort, that it is the culmination of twelve or thirteen years of work by many people to secure plans, public support, enabling legislation and necessary financing.

Speakers on Tap

The Speakers Bureau of the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County has on its lists a long array of speakers on subjects vital to the citizens of the city. They are available for meetings of civic groups, service clubs, fraternal organizations, church groups, neighborhood associations, etc. Among the topics offered are: "How Minneapolis City Government Is Organized and Operates," "How Should We Organize for Effective City Planning," "So You Want to Get There Alive," "The Dilemma of Government Operations and Taxation," "The Citizens League—Four Years of Accomplishments," and many others. William Van Santen is chairman of the committee.

Civic Directory

A Directory of Citizens Organizations (twelve pages) has been published by the City Planning Division of the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, in cooperation with the American Planning and Civic Association, Washington, D. C. The directory lists those organizations interested in planning which responded to question-

naires. A summary of the work of those citizen organizations engaged in planning activity will be presented in a separate report by the City Planning Division.

Recent Publications

This is Evanston (87 pages) has been compiled and published by the League of Women Voters of Evanston, Illinois, as "a ready reference and guide for Evanston residents." All phases of the city's government and finance are described.

Florida Voter's Guide (24 pages), by Bruce B. Mason, is published by the Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida at Gainesville. According to its Introduction, the pamphlet has been prepared "to help the voter appreciate his privileges and duties and to give him a better understanding of the role of parties in Florida." Short chapters cover Electing Public Officials and Party Officers, Presidential Preferential Primary, Voting Methods, Suffrage Requirements, Legal Controls over Candidates, and Conclusion.

The Year at Citizens Union (18 pages) describes in a nutshell, with amusing cartoons, 1955 accomplishments of the Citizens Union of the City of New York. A few of these accomplishments are: adoption of the city multiple dwelling code to protect lives and halt overcrowding, adoption of the career and salary plan for city employees, new laws against discrimination in housing, creation of interdepartmental council on traffic, defeat of proposal to allow borrowing without limit for sewage disposal.

How Should Our Schools Be Organized? A Guide to School District Organization and Reorganization (56 pages) is

the eleventh in a series of "working guides" published by the National Citizens Council for Better Schools (formerly National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools). Single copies are free.

Pima County (32 pages, 50 cents), a publication of the League of Women Voters of Tucson, Arizona, describes that county's governmental setup and gives a short history and description of the county, together with information for the voter.

The study made in connection with the publication of *This Is Pueblo County, Colorado*, (63 pages, one dollar) was made by the League of Women Voters of Pueblo "for the purpose of acquainting ourselves and other citizens in the county with the constitutional provisions in Colorado with regard to county government, its structure, and the nature and extent of administrative and supervisory responsibility of county officials."

Strictly Personal

The All Huntington Association, a nonpartisan organization whose objective is to obtain and support council-manager government for Huntington, West Virginia, has elected Borge Rosing as chairman. Mr. Rosing, vice president of West Virginia Steel and Manufacturing Company, has long been known as an active civic leader in the community.

Bruce R. Trester, a graduate of the Institute of Public Administration, has been selected as executive secretary of the Lake County (Waukegan, Illinois) Civic League. He succeeds James A. Rust, who resigned to join the Johns-Manville Products Corporation in Waukegan.

Research Needed in State Politics

Brookings Lectures Consider Frontiers of 48 Governments

DR. PAUL T. DAVID, in the 1955 publication of the Brookings Lectures, states that "comparative state politics" is a new phrase that has recently crept into the language of political science." He continues that the term "refers to the comparative study of the politics of the 48 states that comprise the United States. By implication, it suggests that studies can be made in domestic politics that are somewhat akin to the studies that make international comparisons between the political systems of national states."

Dr. David, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, later states "that the comparative method seems particularly apt . . . at the level of the states and the state governments. The 48 states of the United States have much in common—socially, economically and politically. All are members of a federal union and are subject to the provisions of the constitution of the United States. Each has its own written constitution in which there is provision for a government with many aspects of sovereignty. Each of these state governments is a government of divided powers, with a high order of autonomy in its legislative, executive and judicial branches. . . . At the same time, there are wide differences among the states in almost every feature of politics except the formal institutional framework of government itself. This combination of institutional similarities and political differences should excite the interest of the student; and increasingly it is doing so."

Dr. David points out that the available materials for the study of comparative

state politics are scattered, unorganized and incomplete. No general treatise has yet been written that deals with the field comprehensively for all the 48 states, although there are books that deal with segments of the field.

Dr. David's conclusion is that "The study of comparative American state politics has enough value on a state-by-state basis for its own sake to justify far more attention than it has received in the past. But it also deserves much attention because of its bearing on the nature and extent of our understanding of the national party system. This is a federal country and the party system includes a federated organization within each national party. That is one of the main reasons the American political party system is so confusing, not only to foreigners but also to those of us who have to live with it. An approach that seeks to clarify the nature of the federated elements may do something to reduce this confusion; and if the parties could only become somewhat more self-conscious and rational about their own internal affairs, the process of confusion reduction might make considerable progress during the next ten or twenty years."

In another lecture in the same series, Professor Malcolm Moos, of Johns Hopkins, points out, in a similar vein, the importance of the governor in the presidential nominating process. He states "that a governor may reflect the 'grass roots' sentiment of party membership better than party representatives in Washington. Among our large two-party states, the political cross winds with which the governor must contend are formidable, and his skill in group diplomacy acquired here serves him in good stead in the presidential nominating process. Moreover, in many of our states a gov-

ernor not only has to deal with situations in which legislative control of his party is a nip and tuck proposition, but in some cases he must contend with a hostile legislature under the control of the opposition party. There can be no question that this exposure to the boisterous currents of legislative politics, along with statewide political cross currents and complex economic and social problems, has increasingly provided a better administrative training as well as better political grooming for reaching the higher calling of the presidency."

The 1955 lectures were devoted to *Research Frontiers in Politics and Government* (240 pages) and have been published by the Brookings Institution. The other lectures in the series discuss research developments generally in the field of political science and were delivered by Stephen K. Bailey of Princeton, Herbert A. Simon of Carnegie Institute of Technology, Robert A. Dahl of Yale, Richard C. Snyder of Northwestern, Alfred de Grazia of Stanford, and David B. Truman of Columbia.

The State Governments' Role in Educational TV

The Illinois Legislative Council has recently published a comprehensive study, *State Governments and Educational Television*, in which the present status of the development of educational TV stations is carefully analyzed. The report states that an over-all expenditure of \$4,000,000 of state money has resulted in a publicly-owned and operated television network in one state and its authorization in another, the earmarking of amounts for experimentation and pilot stations in eight additional states, the institution of a state grant-in-aid program in one, and the financing of numerous study commissions.

Three states (including Illinois) have enacted "enabling legislation authorizing

some types of local governing bodies to engage in educational television (without specific financial assistance from the state government) and, no doubt, such participation is possible in other states under the general powers of local government. Finally, in about a third of the states, no legislative or other official action one way or the other has been discovered."

In Illinois, in addition to the limited legislation pertaining to the Chicago school system, the University of Illinois has commenced operating an educational TV station under its general powers. Legislation to prohibit the university from taking such action was defeated in 1953.

The report states that: "The . . . resumé of developments to date in the debate over educational television, covering a period of about four years of state discussions, reveals measured progress, neither as rapid as proponents might desire nor as halting as skeptics might think. There is, moreover, no uniform pattern of accomplishment for the nation as a whole, different approaches have been taken in different states and different degrees of actual utilization of the television channels available for educational purposes having materialized.

"Rather interestingly, the most elaborate action has been taken in the southern and border states. Relatively few persons would question the potential value of television as an educational instrumentality for all elements of the population, but realization of this potential is only possible when many problems are worked out. In addition to items such as optimum program content, the more important factors include the technical problems of television engineering, the elements of costs, and the sharing of costs between tax funds and voluntary contributions."

The 39-page report does not make any recommendations, as is the practice of the Illinois council, but has been prepared to present factual background information.

Legislative Council Sponsors Bills

The Washington Legislative Council is one of the few councils which make recommendations and sponsor legislation. The Washington State Research Council reports that of the 396 measures passed by the 1955 legislature, 43 were sponsored by the legislative agency which had introduced 75 bills.

Single-Member Legislative District a Myth

Writers of textbooks on American state government have frequently asserted that election from single-member districts is the prevailing method by which state legislators are chosen. Maurice Klain of Western Reserve University, in an article in the December *American Political Science Review*, has declared this assertion to be erroneous. Klain points out that in only nine states—California, Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Rhode Island and Wisconsin—are all members of the state legislature elected from single districts. In sixteen states at least some of the senators are elected from multi-member districts and in 36 states at least some of the members of the lower chamber are so elected. In thirteen states at least some members of both chambers are chosen from multi-member districts. Twelve per cent of all state senators are chosen from multi-member districts and over 45 per cent of the members of the lower house come from such districts.

The author devotes a considerable part of his article to the implications of multi-

member versus single-member districts on the representativeness of legislative bodies. He also raises several areas for further research.

Los Angeles Governmental Structure Studied

A 30-year (1925-55) historical survey of city government in Los Angeles has been completed by Fred G. Crawford and published by the School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California. *Organizational and Administrative Development of the Government of the City of Los Angeles* (281 pages) relates 54,000 ordinances and 170 charter amendments to the growth of the city's legislative, executive and staff functions since 1925. In addition, this detailed analysis includes references to some of the organizational and administrative changes that have been accomplished by the adoption of state laws, of annual city budgets, and of city council resolutions. Each city department and office is discussed separately, its development reviewed and its present organization summarized.

Research Materials for Local Planning

The Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California (Los Angeles) and the local chapter of the American Institute of Planners have published a comprehensive bibliography on sources of information for local planning in California. *Local Planning Research* (95 pages) lists over 500 items including references to the standard source materials. It is an extension of a similar bibliography published by the bureau in 1948.

Books in Review

State Planning

PLANNING SERVICES FOR STATE GOVERNMENT. A Summary of the Need and Suggestions for Organization. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1956. vii, 63 pp. \$2.00.

This report is a careful and concise review of the status of planning agencies in state government and their role in the future. The need for such an agency, now found in only a limited number of states, arises because "not only is [the governor] . . . confronted . . . with extremely difficult problems of priority of services, of balance in expenditures, of coordination of programs, but he also must comprehend and act on such extraordinarily complex matters as atomic energy, industrial relocation, metropolitan government, civil defense and many others. Over all is the merging and ramifying relationship of functions, causing action in any one direction immediately to affect and condition every other area. The difficulties of foreseeing the consequences of alternative steps thus are likely in many cases either to block decision or to result in the best blind guess."

After reviewing the history of planning agencies and their functions, the authors recommend creation of a new type planning agency in the state government. Such an agency would be restricted to staff services, rather than actually administering programs, such as housing or industrial attraction. The proposed agency would be responsible for fact-gathering, assistance in preparation of the capital budget, general policy development, and assistance to operating departments and agencies. The proposed agency would be designated as the office of planning services and would be located in the governor's office, or possibly as a division in a department of administration.

When such an agency is created, the report suggests that the state consider the consolidation of the various economic de-

velopment programs (including industrial development) in a department of commerce. The report suggests also that states should strengthen their programs for planning assistance to local governments and such programs could be assigned to the proposed planning office, to some other state agency or to a division or branch of the state university.

As to the organization of the office of planning service itself, it is recommended that the office be headed by a director appointed by the governor (or with the governor's approval if a division in a department of administration). The report also recommends that there be an advisory committee appointed by the governor to assist the director in the examination of planning programs and policies. The planning director would serve at the pleasure of the governor, but other staff personnel should be career persons under the state merit system.

The authors conclude that "state government is so large an enterprise, its responsibilities are so heavy, and the problems it faces in future are so complex, that organized planning is essential."

S. K. G.

The Large Community

A LARGER CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY. By Jefferson B. Fordham. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1956. 117 pp. \$3.00.

A splendid little book: it is a worthy successor to other publications which have resulted from The Edward Douglas White Lectures on Citizenship.

Dean Fordham's thesis is that there is a compelling demand for flexibility in governmental arrangements so that the many communities to which each of us belong can service us efficiently and without conflict. He focuses his attention on the supralocal community or metropolitan area, the trans-state regional community and the international community.

In the first two lectures he is applying his thesis to local and regional problems, an area in which he has developed a considerable reputation. The result is a remarkable synthesis of thought for students of the burgeoning metropolitan problem.

The final lecture on the international community applies the same conception, however, without quite the same sure-footedness. All the lectures indicate that Dean Fordham is not loathe to meet issues head on; in fact, he appears to delight in standing up and being counted on issues which are much in the minds of the academic fraternity these days, e.g., segregation, internationalism and so forth.

Recommended reading.

J. P. K.

Supreme Court

THE SUPREME COURT SPEAKS. By Jerre S. Williams. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1956. xvii, 465 pp. \$5.95.

This volume tells the history of our Supreme Court in terms of those great decisions which the author has selected for historical or current interest, which "reveal in interesting fashion the broad sweep of the legal problems which confront our court, a scope that may not be readily realized by the casual observer."

The bulk of the text is made up of the significant excerpts from the court opinions and provides a panorama of that great institution from the time of John Marshall to the present day, in chronological order, down to segregation in schools.

R. S. C.

Texas

TEXAS GOVERNMENT (Third Edition). By Stuart A. MacCorkle and Dick Smith. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956. vi, 522 pp. \$5.00.

This volume is the third edition of a textbook on Texas government. It has chapters devoted to the usual subjects of

the constitution, political parties, legislature, judiciary, and functions of the state government. Separate chapters on county and municipal governments, as well as intergovernmental relations, are included. A new chapter on the regulation of business and professional activities has been added to this edition.

The authors are somewhat critical of the structure of the state government and compare it with a house built without a plan. "The final result is an architectural monstrosity." Some of the specific criticisms are that there is lack of responsibility, inadequate financial control, lack of a merit system, overlapping and duplication of functions, short terms and low salaries for public officials, and generally an unsatisfactory reporting system.

S. K. G.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Capital Program

CAPITAL PROGRAM, CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. 1956-1961. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1955. 177 pp. Tables, illus.

Civil Service

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION LITERATURE (Supplement). Washington, D. C., U. S. Civil Service Commission, The Library, 1955. 178 pp.

Credit

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL CREDIT. St. Paul, Minnesota, Legislative Research Committee, 1956. 12 pp.

Crime

HABITUAL CRIMINAL STATUTES. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1955. 45 pp.

Debt

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BONDED DEBT OF THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES. Baton Rouge, Louisiana Legislative Council, 1956. 142 pp.

Directories

DIRECTORY OF ILLINOIS STATE OFFICERS. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1956. 63 pp.

Education

HIGHER EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT—WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY? Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1956. 29 pp.

HOW TO GET BETTER SCHOOLS. A Tested Program. By David B. Dreiman. Foreword by Roy L. Larsen. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956. xvii, 267 pp. \$3.50.

PROS AND CONS OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION. Highlights of the Tax Institute Symposium, November 3-4, 1955. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, November-December 1955. 12 pp. 50 cents.

PUBLIC SCHOOL BUDGET LAW IN NORTH CAROLINA. By John Alexander McMahon. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1956. 63 pp. \$1.50.

THE ROAD WE ARE TRAVELING. A Statistical Picture of Selected Public School Trends in Texas. Austin, Texas Research League, 1956. 77 pp. \$1.00.

Fees

FEES FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICES. Report of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956. 253 pp.

Game and Fish Regulation

PUBLICATION AND ISSUANCE OF GAME AND FISH LAWS AND REGULATIONS AND HUNTING LAWS AND REGULATIONS. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, 1956. 11 pp.

Hurricane Rehabilitation

NORTH CAROLINA LONG-RANGE HURRICANE REHABILITATION PROJECT. Raleigh, North Carolina Council of Civil Defense, 1955. 64 pp. Illus.

Industrial Location

THE PLANT, THE OFFICE AND THE CITY. Part 1: Industrial Location Trends and Factors. By Mabel Walker. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, August-September, 1955. 27 pp. 50 cents.

Intergovernmental Cooperation

SUMMARY, BIENNIAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE NORTHEASTERN STATES, December 15-16, 1955. Sponsored jointly by the Council of State Governments and the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation. New York City, the Committee, 1956. 28 pp. (Apply Elisha T. Barrett, Chairman, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Legislation

1955 LAWS OF INTEREST TO NEW JERSEY MUNICIPALITIES. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1956. 62 pp. \$1.00.

Manuals

GUIDEBOOK FOR COUNTY AND PRECINCT ELECTION OFFICIALS. 1956. By Henry W. Lewis. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1956. 110 pp.

Merit System

A MERIT SYSTEM FOR MISSISSIPPI? University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, School of Commerce and Business Administration, *Public Administration Survey*, March 1956. 6 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

CHICAGO'S METROPOLITAN GROWTH. Patterns, Problems, Prospects. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1955. 66 pp. \$2.00. Illus. (Apply Professor Ralph G. Ringgenberg, School of Commerce, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.)

COMMERCIAL REAL ESTATE RELATIONSHIPS—DOWNTOWN AND SUBURBAN. By Larry Smith. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, March 1956. 6 pp. \$1.00.

GREAT CITIES OF THE WORLD. Their Government, Politics and Planning.¹ Edited by William A. Robson. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955. 693 pp. \$10.

A SOCIAL PROFILE OF DETROIT: 1955. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Detroit Area Study, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1956. 51 pp. \$1.25.

Planning

FROM THE GROUND UP. Observations on Contemporary Architecture, Housing, Highway Building and Civic Design. By Lewis Mumford. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. viii, 243 pp. \$1.25.

Population

FERTILITY OF THE POPULATION: APRIL 1954. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 1956. 6 pp. 10 cents.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE OF A METHOD OF ESTIMATING THE CURRENT POPULATION OF SUBDIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 16, 1956. 20 pp. 15 cents.

THE U. S. POPULATION BOOM—PAST, PRESENT AND POSSIBLE FUTURE. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1955. Chart.

Racial Relations

RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, March 1956. x, 143 pp. \$2.00.

Research

RESEARCH FRONTIERS IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT. Brookings Lectures, 1955.² By Stephen K. Bailey, Herbert A. Simon, Robert A. Dahl, Richard C. Snyder, Alfred de Grazia, Malcolm Moos, Paul T. David and David B. Truman. Washing-

ton, D. C. The Brookings Institution, 1955. vii, 240 pp. \$2.75.

Salaries

EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION—U. S. STATE GOVERNMENTS. By Boynton S. Kaiser and Dorothy E. Everett. Berkeley, University of California, 1955. 24 pp.

Slums

ARRESTING SLUMS THROUGH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. By E. G. Shinner. Chicago, The Shinner Foundation, 1956. 35 pp.

State Government

THE FRAMEWORK OF YOUR WISCONSIN GOVERNMENT. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1955. x, 69 pp. Charts.

Taxation and Finance

FINANCES OF SELECTED STATES IN 1955. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, February 1956. 14 pp. 15 cents.

FINANCING KANSAS GOVERNMENT—CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. Topeka, Kansas, Advisory Committee on Taxation and Revenues, 1955. 50 pp.

INTERIM REPORT. New York State-New York City Fiscal Relations Committee, 1956. 55 pp.

MUNICIPAL SALES TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, February 1956. 35 pp. 50 cents.

STATE TAXATION OF FEDERAL CONTRACTORS: A PROPOSAL. By Arthur S. Miller. Emory University, Georgia, Emory University Law School, *Journal of Public Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1956. 22 pp.

TAXATION IN CANADA. Montreal, Bank of Montreal, Securities Department, Head Office, 1955. 39 pp.

Text Books

BASIC ISSUES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. (Third Edition.) By Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956. xv, 484 pp. \$2.75.

¹ For a review of this book, see page 218.

² For a review of this volume see page 256, this issue.

Citizens at Helm in Memphis after Years of Crump Decisions

Memphis, where the National Conference on Government will be held November 11-14, is a city of civic and political excitement.

The citizens of Memphis went to the polls last fall and, for the first time in more than twenty years, found a choice of candidates for every city office — from school board members all the way up to the top office of mayor.

In that election, Edmund Orgill, civic leader and businessman who has worked for good government as a citizen for many years, offered for office for the first time in his life. He was elected mayor by an overwhelming majority. The remnants of the political organization of the late E. H. Crump fell apart in the lively campaign.

A former mayor of Memphis, who had served sixteen years as mayor under Crump administrations, was defeated. His slate of four city commissioners lost out with the exception of one man.

An independent young businessman and World War II Navy veteran, Henry Loeb, who had exposed special favors while serving on the park commission, was elected a city commissioner.

Mayor Orgill and the new commission functioned smoothly under the commission form of government for their first two months. Then the city government

split right down the middle over the question of whether or not the city's low tax rate should be boosted 20 cents per \$100 to meet new school needs and, actually, to keep the city from borrowing to pay current operating expenses in 1957.

Mayor Orgill and Mr. Loeb went to bat for the tax boost, pointing to civic needs the city had long put off under Crump. The other three commissioners held out against the tax boost. It was voted down three to two, in a final reading at an open city commission meeting, after a three-hour hearing in which both sides were supported by citizens.

This is the new atmosphere in Memphis today. City business, for decades decided in executive session and presented as a *fait accompli* to the citizens, is now decided vigorously in the open. Citizens are speaking to every issue. The political stream is turbulent with new life. Candidates are available for almost every office whenever an election is held.

Council-manager government is still far from a dead issue despite the fact that one of its strongest advocates, Mr. Orgill, is so busy fighting the daily battles of his mayor's office under the old commission form.

The citizens of Memphis, most of

(Continued on next page)

Conferring in Memphis on program for National Conference on Government, left to right: Ed Dalstrom, manager, Graham Paper Company, and Civic Research Committee board member; Mrs. Lawrence Coe, school board and CRC board; Charles Pool, CRC executive secretary; NML Assistant Director John E. Behout; Dr. Henry B. Gotten, CRC chairman, and Frank Ahlgren, editor, Memphis "Commercial Appeal."



Manager Plan Urged for Honolulu Charter

Murray Seasongood, former NML president and former mayor of Cincinnati, on a recent vacation in Hawaii, met with members of the commission which is drafting a charter for the city and county of Honolulu. He urged them to submit a council-manager charter with



Murray Seasongood

a small council elected at large by rotating nonpartisan ballot and, if practicable, by the Hare system of proportional representation.

Mr. Seasongood spoke also at a luncheon meeting of the Honolulu League of Women Voters and was principal speaker at the fifth annual meeting of the Legal Aid Society. He is a former president, now honorary vice president, of the National Legal Aid Association and a former president of the Cincinnati Legal Aid Society.

Memphis Citizens at Helm

(Continued from previous page)

whom had been satisfied to have their political dictator decide their officials and policies for them for more than twenty years, now have their hands on the tiller.

Heads of national organizations and several independent specialists meeting in the Osborn Room to plan a nation-wide cooperative attack on problems of metropolitan areas.

Officers, Staff Attend Metropolitan Conference

Vice President John S. Linen, several other officers and two staff members of the League were scheduled to attend the National Conference on Metropolitan Problems April 29 to May 2 at the Kellogg Center, Michigan State University.

The conference, called by Frank C. Moore, president of the Government Affairs Foundation and member of the League's Council, is co-sponsored by the National Municipal League and fifteen other national organizations.

First steps toward a cooperative approach to metropolitan problems were taken last year at a meeting of operating heads of national organizations and several independent specialists held in the Osborn Room of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Building.

Keith Speaks in New Orleans

NML Senior Associate John P. Keith spoke in March on the panel on "Home Rule in Louisiana" at the second annual Conference on Government sponsored by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana in New Orleans. His subject was "Improving Organization and Management of Local Government."

Review Article Circulated

The Indiana State Chamber of Commerce recently sent to all local chambers of commerce in the state excerpts from the article, "Planning for the Fringe," by P. N. Royal, from January REVIEW.



Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1955).....	\$.20
Charts: Council-manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-council Form (17½ x 22½"), 50 cents each, set of three.....	1.00
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1955).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1955).....	.05
P. R., [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955).....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953) The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953)75 .75
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.20)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953).....	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 23 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 40 pages (1954).....	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law (1955).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953).....	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1954).....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1954).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1954).....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952).....	3.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 90 pages, mimeographed (1955).....	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1955).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952).....	.75
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 448 pages (1954)....	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1954) ..	.50
The Metropolitan Problem—Current Research, Opinion, Action, by Guthrie S. Birkhead (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE- VIEW), 12 pages (1953).....	.25
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955).....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Save Our Cities, by Joseph E. McLean etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1954).....	.35

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National Municipal Review for February 1956

An unprecedented demand has exhausted copies of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for the month listed above. The League will be glad to pay 25 cents per copy for the return of this issue.

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Sound Doctrine in Three Critical Areas

1. **Model Voter Registration System**, 56 pages; prepared by Dr. Joseph P. Harris, University of California, and a committee of distinguished experts; fourth edition, 1954.
2. **Model Real Property Tax Collection Law**, 40 pages; prepared under the direction of the National Municipal League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation, L. Arnold Frye, chairman; second edition, 1954.
3. **Model Investment of State Funds Law**, 23 pages; prepared under the direction of the Frye committee; first edition, 1954.

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